

# ART. XXI.—*Ancient Geography and Civilization of Maharashtra.*<sup>1</sup>

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The abbreviations employed herein are—

A. G. I.—Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*

A. S. W. I.—*Archæological Survey of Western India* (Reports of)

B. G. or Bom. G.—The volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer*

Bom. S. S.—*Bombay Sanskrit Series*

B. R.—Baile's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*

Cor. Ins. I. or C. I.—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*

E. I.—*Epigraphia Indica*

I. A.—*Indian Antiquary*

J. B. R. R. A. S.—*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*

J. R. A. S.—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*

S. B. I.—*Sacred Books of the East Series*

S. B. H.—*Sacred Books of the Hindus*

In the case of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* the Bombay edition has been used unless otherwise expressly stated.

## THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF MAHARASHTRA

The subject of the present essay is the Ancient Geography of Maharashtra as collected from Indian and non-Indian sources.

By 'Ancient Geography' I mean Geography from the earliest times, about 1300 A.D., when the modern period of the history of Maharashtra is generally held to begin. Within the limits of time thus described, I propose to deal with many of the topics that are treated in ordinary manuals of Geography in modern times, such as the origin of the name of Maharashtra; the extent of territory comprised in it; its political divisions; mountains, rivers, cities, towns, sacred places, population, castes and communities, trade and communications, language and religion, political administration, &c. Though I am no means professing to write the ancient History of Maharashtra, which subject has already been treated by a master mind (viz. Sir Ramkrishna Bhindarkar), it will often be necessary for me to discuss

questions that may be thought with greater propriety to belong to the province of ancient History. But ancient History and Geography are very closely connected and the treatment of one cannot but stray into the domain of the other. The two cannot be kept separate in water-tight compartments. History and Geography always act and re-act upon each other.

Before proceeding further it will be well to indicate the various sources which shed light on the ancient Geography of India in general and of Maharashtra in particular.

### 1.—Indian Sources—

#### (a) Sanskrit Literature—

1. Ancient Vedic Literature
2. Panini, Katyayana and Patanjali
3. The two epics Ramayana and Mahābhārata
4. The Purāṇas such as Vāyu, Mātṛya, Viṣṇu, Mārkanḍeya, Bhāgavata
5. Astronomical works, such as the Brihatsaṃhitā, the Śūryasiddhānta
6. Dramas, poems and romances such as the Bīṣṇu-yaṇi of Rājasekhara, the Meghadūta, the Rāghu-vaṃśa, the Dīśakumara Chārita.
7. Other Sanskrit works such as the Kamasūtra, the Yogibhāṣya of Vyāsa, the Bīṣṇu-yaṇi, the Rājatarāṅgi, the Kavyanūṣaṅgi of Hemachandra and Viṅbhāṣa local Māhātmyas embodying traditional and often fanciful information.

(b) Buddhist Literature such as the Jītakas, the Dīpa-vaṃśa and Māhātmyas

(c) Jain Literature

(d) Inscriptions on stone and copper published in various books and journals

(e) Coins

\* Ancient coins have been of very great use in settling vexed questions in History. They are not however of much use in purely geographical questions. Still there are coins inscribed with well-known geographical names e.g. see Rapson's *Indian Coins* App. p. 14.

where we have the names  $\text{पुण्ड्र}$ ,  $\text{पुण्ड्र}$  & point on coins of the red and red-green types B & C.

## II — Ancient non-Indian Sources—

- (a) Classical notices of India in the works of Herodotus, Hecatas, Megasthenes, Arrian, Ptolemy, in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.
- (b) Accounts of Chinese Pilgrims such as Fa Hien, Hsuen Tsang, I-tsing.
- (c) Mahomedan writers, like those in Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, and Alberuni.
- (d) European travellers like Marco Polo, Fier, Odoric, Friar Jordanus.

III — Modern works on History and antiquities such as the writings of Dr Bhandarkar, Dr Fleet, Mr Vincent Smith.

## Earliest traces of intercourse with the Deccan.

As the ancient Aryans were settled in the Punjab there are naturally no references in the ancient Vedic literature to any place that belongs to the peninsula of India. The most ancient reference that points to the south is perhaps in the *Atareya Brahmana* (VII, 18), where the *Andhras*, *Pundras*,<sup>1</sup> *Sabaras*, *Pulindas* and *Mutibas*<sup>2</sup> are mentioned as degenerate tribes. So also in the same *Brahmana* (VII 34.9) the Prince *Bhuma* is called *Vudarbha* (of *Vidarbha*, modern *Berar*) and is said to have received instruction from *Parvata* and *Narada* regarding the substitutes for *Soma* juice. Prof. Macdonell's *Vedic Index* says that *Vidarbha* occurs as the name of a place only in the *Jaiminīya Upanishad Brahmana*, where *Maśālis* (dogs) are said to kill tigers. *Vidarbha kausadnya* is the name of a teacher mentioned in the first two *Yantras* in the *Bṛhadaranyakopaniṣad* (II 6.3, IV, 6.21). *Vaidarbhi* is the patronymic of a *Bhargava* in the *Prāśnopanishad*. Prof. Macdonell sees a reference to *Reva* (*Narmada*) in the name *Revottara* that occurs in the *Satapatha Brahmana* several times (VII, 8.1, 17. VII, 9.3.1). These are almost the only notices in the Vedic literature that in any way point to places south of the *Vindhya*. From this we may safely conclude that even in the latest period of Vedic literature represented by the *Upanishads*, almost the whole of the country south of the *Vindhya* was *terra*

<sup>1</sup> The *Harayadarsa* of *Dāpā* associates the city of *काञ्ची* with पुण्ड्रक king's नामिदम या परितःपुण्ड्रैविभूयिता । अस्ति कान्तिपुत्री गम्यामटवर्गश्चिरा नृपः ॥ III 514. It is extremely doubtful whether the *Pundras* of the *Atareya* are identical with the पुण्ड्रक king.

<sup>2</sup> त एतेषा पुण्ड्र शत्रवा पुनिन्दा मुनिन्दा इत्युत्तराया बहवो मरन्ति वैष्णवना दम्बना भूयिता ।



In the Mahābhārata the word Dakṣiṇapatha occurs frequently. In the Sābhaparva (31-17) we are told that Sītadhara went to Dakṣiṇapatha after conquering the Paṇḍyas. From the Vanaparva we learn that Dakṣiṇapatha was to be reached after crossing Avanti and mountain Rikṣa.<sup>1</sup> In the Bhishmaparva we are told that Nila, King of Malushmati with troops called Nilayudhas from Dakṣiṇapatha fought on the side of the Kauravas (Cil Ed of 1834 verse 575). In the Virāṭparva inscription (No. 1 in A. S. W. I. Vol. V, p. 60) Vedaśira is mentioned as the king of Dakṣiṇapatha about 300 B. C. In the Rāmāyaṇa, Dakṣiṇapatha is enumerated along with Saurashtra (II, 10-27). Patanjali (200 B. C.) in his Mahābhāṣya (on Pāṇini, I, 1, 19) says that in Dakṣiṇapatha a great lake is called Sarasī instead of "Saras". In the well known Guntur inscription of the Kshatriya Rudradaman (150 A. D.) Sitakarna is spoken of as the king of Dakṣiṇapatha.<sup>2</sup> One of the Nasik inscriptions mentions Dakṣiṇapatha (A. S. W. I. IV, p. 110). The Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta (middle of the 4th century A. D.) mentions several kings of Dakṣiṇapatha conquered by that brilliant Gupta Emperor.<sup>3</sup> It is not necessary to refer to writers later than the 4th century A. D. Among ancient foreign books it is the Periplus (1st century A. D.) that first mentions Dakṣiṇapades (Dakṣiṇapatha).<sup>4</sup> Fa Hsien (in India from 399 to 415 A. D.) speaks of a country called 'T'athsin' Dakṣiṇa, which seems to correspond with the narrower sense of Dakṣiṇapatha (for which see further on). He says: "Going two yojanas south from this, there is a country called T'athsin. Here is a Saṅgharama of the former Buddha Kāśyapa. It is a district

एतं गच्छति बहवः पश्चान्नो दक्षिणापथम् ।

अवन्तीपुष्कवन्तं च समतिक्रम्य पर्वतम् ॥

एष विन्ध्यो महाशैलः पयोणा च मयूरा ॥

एष पश्चात्तिर्दोर्भागममो गच्छति कीर्त्तनम् ।

अतः परं च देशीय दक्षिणे दक्षिणापथ ॥

Vanaparva Chap. 61. 27-31

This was said by Nala when leaving N. India. If properly interpreted these verses mean that while going from N. India to Dakṣiṇapatha one had to cross the territory of Avanti (Eastern Malwa) and Rikṣa Parvata (probably the Satpura Range); that several roads led from Nishadha to Dakṣiṇapatha and that Nishadha formed part of Dakṣiṇapatha.

\* 'दक्षिणापथे हि महाति सरसि सरयु इत्युच्यते ।' Vol. I p. 73 (Kailash). In another place he speaks of the Dakṣiṇapades as being very fertile of तदिति विपतदितर दक्षिणापथा' Vol. I p. 8.

\* I. A. Vol. VIII p. 262. A. S. W. I. II p. 28.

\* See Cor. Ins. I. V. I. III p.

See I. A. Vol. VIII p. 192.

ed out of a great mountain of rock hollowed to the proper shape.

The country of Utkal is precipitous and the roads dangerous.<sup>1</sup>

I have illustrated the occurrence of the name Dakshinapatha from the times of the Buddhist in Sūtra (500 B.C.) to the times of Samudragupta and Fa Hien.<sup>2</sup>

I shall next turn to other places in the peninsula of India referred to in ancient records.

Katyaiana in his Vartikas has several important allusions to places in the south. He mentions a country named Mahishman (in his Vartika on Panini IV 2 87) and the Pandya (in Vartika on Panini IV 1 168). Is it too much to suppose that this country called Mahishman is identical with the Mahisamandala referred to in the Mahavamsa and with Mahishmati a city on the Narmada? The countries of Chola and Kerala are included in the Kambojadigana<sup>3</sup> and Kishkindha is mentioned in the Parusadigana (Panini VI, 1, 157). The edicts of Ashoka furnish very interesting information about the peninsula of India. The 4th Rock Edict mentions the Cholas, Pandya, Satyaputa and Ketala (Kerala) puta.<sup>4</sup> The 5th Rock Edict speaks of the Rasikas and the Petenikas and the Apirintas.<sup>5</sup> Who the Kustikas were is not settled beyond doubt. General Cunningham thought it to be a name of Surashtra (Kathiawar). The word corresponds to the Sanskrit word Rishika and may have been employed to denote

<sup>1</sup> See Beal's Fa Hien Vol. I p. LXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> The prevalence of the name of Dakshinapatha gave rise to the term Uttarapatha for the whole or some portion of Northern India. In the Harshacharita we read that Rajyavardhana was sent to Uttarapatha to vanquish the Hugas (Hem S. S. P. 20). In a Chalukya grant the Emperor Harsha is called the conqueror of उत्तरापथ (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. 14 p. 26 श्रीमदुत्तरापथाधिपति श्रीहर्षपराजपोषलम्बापरनामधेय ... श्रीपुलकेशिवरम). In another grant Pulakesi II is described as 'समरससक्तसकलोनराधेश्वर श्रीहर्षवर्धनपराजपोषलम्बापरनामधेय सन्नाथय श्रीपूज्यवर्ममहाराज' (I. A. S. Vol. 18 p. 46). In the Yashajitika (Cowell Vol. IV p. 30 No. 454) a king महात्स is said to have reigned in उत्तरापथ in the Kām district. A Buddhist inscription of the 10th Century has उत्तरापथ for Northern India (I. A. S. Vol. 17 pp. 30-300). The बृहत्संहिता (9-4) and the भागवतपुराण (9-2-6) refer to उत्तरापथ as Odrisha. In a Nāsk inscription (B. G. Vol. 16 p. 387; A. S. W. I. Vol. 1 p. 24) a प्राकृत equivalent of उत्तरापथ? The Commentator of the कामसूत्र identifies उत्तरापथ with Utkala (II 5 p. 120). Horse dealers from उत्तरापथ are spoken of in the Paṇḍika (Vinayapitaka Vol. III p. 6).

<sup>3</sup> काम्बोजादिभ्य इति वन्तभ्यम् धातिश्च on IV 1 75.

<sup>4</sup> See A. S. W. I. Vol. II p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> See A. S. W. I. Vol. II p. 2.

the people of that country that afterwards came to be called Mahārāshtra. The Petenikas are generally regarded to be so denominated after Pratihthina (Modern Pathan). The words 'Ange Aparanta' occurring in the 5th Edict at Khalsi, Umrar and Dhauli, if interpreted as meaning 'other western countries,' lead to the conclusion that the Ristikas and Petenikas must have been some people in the west. The 13th Rock Edict mentions the Cholas, Pandyas, Andhras, Pulindas and couples the Bhojas and Petenikas (Petenikya at Khalsi) together.<sup>1</sup> The Bhojas ruled in the Berars for several centuries.<sup>2</sup> The Vartikas of Katyavina mention the Bhojas as Kshatriyas.<sup>3</sup> The Bharhut Stupa (200 B.C.) in the Central Provinces records in an inscription on one of the pillars of the railing a gift from Gorikhita (Gorakshita) of Nasik.<sup>4</sup> The Nanaghat inscription points out that about 200 B.C. the country about Junnar was the seat of civilization and Brahmanical culture. Patanjali in his Mahabhashya notices Kanchipura, Kerala, Mahishmati, Nalika (Nasik) and Vaidarbha.<sup>5</sup> In the times of the Suttanipita we meet with the story that the disciples of Buddha with their faces turned to the north went to Patitihana of Alaka first, then to Mahisati and then to Ujjeni.<sup>6</sup> The Periplus of the Erythraean sea speaks of Pathana (modern Pathan) and Tagara as two specially important market towns of Dikshinabades (Dikshinapatha).<sup>7</sup> Ptolemy also mentions Bruthana as the royal seat of Ptolemaios (Pulumayi).<sup>8</sup>

Taking all that has been said above about Dakshinapatha and the notices of various places and countries in the peninsula of India, we can affirm that several centuries before the Christian era the whole of the peninsula from Cape Comorin to the Narmada had been explored that it contained populous and prosperous cities at that period and that it was divided into several well-organized kingdoms.

I shall now try to point out the extent of the country known as Dakshinapatha. The word seems to have been used in some cases for the whole of the peninsula from the Setu to the Narmada, as for

<sup>1</sup> See A. S. W. I. Vol. II pp. 80-87.

<sup>2</sup> भीमरुज्ज् king of the Bhojas in Bhujakota and called ruler of the दाक्षिणात्यसुभुज्ज् ruled to उरामिर्ष. See for references J. R. A. S. I. 1905 p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> See Vartika, on 9/3 IV 280.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham's Bharhut St. pa. p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> 'नासिकगौरमितय धर्मो दान वसुकस भारियाय.'

<sup>6</sup> Vol. II p. 298 (काञ्चीपुर, काञ्चीपुरिक) Vol. II p. 300 (केरल) Vol. II p. 35 (माहिष्मती), Vol. III, p. 40 (नामिक) 'नासिक नगरमिति सकाशादिषु पाठ करिष्यते.'

<sup>7</sup> See S. B. E. Vol. 10 (Part 2) p. 182.

<sup>8</sup> Schöler's Periplus p. 47. See 1.

<sup>8</sup> M. G. P. I. 1001 p. 75.

example in the grant of the eastern Chakya King Vishnu-Vardhana Rājārāja I, which speaks of the founder Vishnu Vardhana as having conquered the seven and a half lakh Dakṣiṇapatha<sup>1</sup> between the Saur and the Narmadā. So also in the inscription of Samudraguṇṭha Viśvapurī (modern Pilāpurī in the Madras Presidency), Erandaṇṭhī (Erandol in Khandesh), Kīncī Veng and Devirāshṭrī are included in Dakṣiṇapatha, i.e., it covered the whole of the peninsula from the Narmadā to Cape Comorin. The Purāṇas understand the word Dakṣiṇapatha in the same sense (See Vayu Chap. 45, 100 ff., Matsya Chap. 114, Brhama Chap. 27, 54 ff.) But the word Dakṣiṇapatha was usually understood as designating a more limited territory excluding Mahār and the Tribal countries and covering a large portion of modern Barāt, the Central Provinces, the Vizian's Dominions and the whole of Mahārāshṭra excluding the Konkan i.e., the country a little below the Narmadā and above the Kṛṣṇā.<sup>2</sup> As Sindhava is said in the Mahābhārata to have gone to Dakṣiṇapatha after conquering the Pāṇḍvas, it follows that the Pāṇḍva territory in the extreme south of India was not included in Dakṣiṇapatha.<sup>3</sup> The Vayupurāṇa mentions the Godāvarī, the Kṛṣṇā and others as rivers of Dakṣiṇapatha rising in the Sahya mountain but does not style the Tapi and the Narmadā in that way. Hence it may be assumed that they were not looked upon by the author of that Purāṇa as included in Dakṣiṇapatha. The Periplus<sup>4</sup> seems to have included in Dakṣiṇapadeś all the country from Barygaza (Broach) to Naura and Tyndis the first markets of Damarica (i.e., the Dravida country). The term 'Deccan' in modern times is similarly employed to designate the whole of the peninsula from the Narmadā to Cape Comorin.<sup>5</sup> The commentator of the Kamasutra

<sup>1</sup> See p. 16, Vol. IV p. 325. 'मेरुनर्मदाया साधमत्तलस्य दक्षिणाय एतद्व्याप्तम्' राजशेखर n. h. ३. दक्षिणाय एतद्व्याप्तम् VI Act (Benares Pandit Vol. III for 1868-70, p. 131) speaks of Revā (Narmadā) as the dividing line between आर्यावर्त and दक्षिणपथ. 'या किल भगवन् आर्यावर्तदक्षिणपथयोर्विभागेत्वा'.

<sup>2</sup> See Foulkes n. l. 4, Vol. 16 at p. 4. Bom. G. Vol. I part 2 p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> सभाषर 31. 16-18 'मुमुक्षु पाण्डेयराजेन दिवसं बहुलामुत्र ॥ न जित्वा स महाबाहु प्रयया दक्षिणान्धम् । सुहामासास्यामानं किञ्चिच्छो लोकेविभुताम् ॥ तदा रत्नान्कुपादाय पुरीं माहिषमती ययौ ।'

<sup>4</sup> See Scliff's Periplus p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> In this sense it is that part of मरुतवर्ष, which was beyond the pale of Āryāvarta. The Buddhists, however, say 'The country of the Sākyas lies to the east of the region where the river Sarasvatī still happens to the west of the black forest to the north of the पारियात्र mountains and to the south of हिमालय' ( 'शमिनवकुमारपद्मलववनात् दक्षिणेन विम-



says that Dakshinapatha is the country to the south of the Narmada. It also more usually denotes the territory between the Narmada and the Krishna and pretty closely corresponds with Maharashtra when used in an extended sense.<sup>1</sup> The term Dakshinapatha was thus applied in the centuries preceding and immediately following the Christian era to that territory which was also called Maharashtra in later times.

## MAHARASHTRA

I shall now take up the question as to the early notices of Maharashtra. The term Maharashtra as the name of a country does not occur so far as is at present known in any record before the Christian era. It does not occur in the *Rigveda* nor in the *Mahabharata*, though the *Puranas* mention the country of Maharashtra (Vyasa 45-110 and Brahma 27-53 and Markandeya 37-46 all of which put the Vishukhas or Mahishakas after Mah-rashtra, while the Matsya Chap. 114 reads Nivaraashtra before Mahishaka). Probably the earliest unmistakable reference to Maharashtra occurs in the Mahavamsa the Chronicle of Ceylon the traditional date of which is 439-474 A.D.<sup>2</sup> The Mahavamsa mentions that certain Theros were sent as missionaries to several countries by Moggaliputta Tissa in the 17th year of the reign of Asoka. He deputed the Thero Majjhantiko to Kashmir and Gundhara and the Thero Mahadeva to Vahsamandala. He deputed the Thero Rakkhito to Vnnayasi and the Thero Yonadhamma Rakkhito to Aparantika. He deputed the Thero Mahadhammarakkhito to Maharatta the Thero Maharakkhito to the Yona country.<sup>3</sup> Then again we read

‘वत्समुद्रं पारियात्र तदायवर्तं तस्मिन् य आनारं स पमण्यम् । गणायमुपारतरमित्युक्ते’  
दीधायन । 1. 27-28 S. E. Vol. 4. p. 47) Patanjali in 24 Mahabhashya gives the same interpretation of आयवर्त [‘भागादशान् पश्चात्तत्त्वान् दक्षिणेन हिमवत्समुद्रेण पारियात्रम्’ Kolhara, Vol. I. 475 and Vol. III. 74]. The *Menussimviti* II p. 22) places आयवर्त between the eastern and western oceans and between the Himalayas and the Indian (आसमुद्रानुषे पूर्वागममुद्रानुषमिमान् । तदेतिवातरमिवोरायावर्तं तदुर्वंशः ॥) The *Amarakosha* says ‘आर्यावर्तं पुण्यभूमिर्माय विध्यहिमपागयो’

<sup>1</sup> See V. A. Smith's "Early History of India," Chap. 3 p. 421 (3rd edition). A. Lange's *Ancient India*, p. 20. Dr. Rhoades appears to take the term Deccan in this restricted sense in his History of the Deccan.

<sup>2</sup> But Dr. Fleet holds that the *Mahavamsa* was composed between 530-540 A.D. (J. R. A. S. for 1907 p. 317). See also Introduction to the *Mahavamsa* by Geiger and Bede p. XII. Mahasena reigned at the beginning of the 6th century after Christ. About this time the *Mahavamsa* was composed.

<sup>3</sup> Turnour's *Mahavamsa* p. 7. Geiger's *Mahavamsa* Chap. XII p. 81 and p. 84. See also V. Jayapala (Gildenberg), Vol. III p. 34 the Samantapasadika which mentions the same countries and missionaries.

'the sanctified disciple Mahadhrumma rakkhiso repairing to Maharashtra preached the Mahimarada Kassapo Jataka'<sup>1</sup> The Bihat samhita of Varahamihira (about 550 A.D.) mentions the people of Maharashtra<sup>2</sup> In the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D. the Chulukya Satyashraya Pulastya II is praised as having attained to the position of the overlord of the three Maharashtrakas<sup>3</sup> The famous Chinese traveller, Hiouen Tsiang who was in India between 629-645 A.D., names Maharashtra as Moholich and gives very interesting and detailed information about it.<sup>4</sup> The Kumbhastuta in a coarse way registers the peculiarities of the women of Maharashtra The Prakrit grammar of Vararuchi refers to Maharashtra as the Prakrit *par excellence* Thus the term Maharashtra when used for a Prakrit dialect, must be connected with the country of Maharashtra is expressly stated by Dandin<sup>5</sup> (6th century A.D.)

The above data go to establish beyond the possibility of doubt that from the 5th century at all events the term Maharashtra began to be employed as the name of a country

But the matter does not rest here We can urge though not without hesitation that the name Maharashtra goes back to a few centuries before the Christian era As the Mahavamsa is based upon ancient traditions, it is not unlikely that the names of the various countries mentioned by it as the centres of the proselytizing activities of Buddhist Missionaries had come down to it from ancient times and were not invented by it Then we have to note that in several inscriptions at Nanaghat, Bhaja, Karle and Kanheri (ranging from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) many donors have the appellation Maharathi prefixed to their names and female donors are designated Maharathini<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Turner's Mahavamsa p. 74

<sup>2</sup> बृहत्संहिता (Bern ed. 1888) भाग्ये रसविजयिण्य षण्णसाकम्पका महाराष्ट्र

<sup>3</sup> L.A. V. 1. 3, p. 225 ff अगमदधिपतित्वं यो महाराष्ट्रकाणां नवनवतिमहस्रपादभाजो प्रयाणाम् ॥

<sup>4</sup> See Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World V. II p. 255 ff; Beal's Life of Hiouen Tsiang p. 120 Bern C. I. Part II p. 184; Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India p. 553 ff

<sup>5</sup> कात्यायनी 1. 31 'महाराष्ट्रया भागो मज्जं माहृतं विदुः'

<sup>6</sup> See A. S. W. I Vol. V p. 60 (Nanaghat No. 1) 'वदिमारेस महारत्निको' Burgess and Bhagwanlal's Cave Temples of Western India, p. 21 (Bhaja cave inscription No. 2) 'महारत्निस कोमिकीपुतम विह्वुदतम' ibid p. 26 (Bhaja Cave No. 2) महाभायवातिकाय महादिवि महात्तिय महात्तिय 3. 1. 15 f p. 28 (Karle inscription No. 2) 'महारत्निस गोपापुषस अगिमिषणकस' A. S. W. I Vol. V p. 86 (Kanheri No. 20) 'महाभोजिय मातिकाय महारत्तिय' 21 f B. H. K. A. S. Vol. V p. 51 (Kanheri No. 20) महारत्निकोमेक

bearing of this on the origin of the term Maharashtra will be discussed later on. Scholars like Dr Stevenson and Dr Bhagvanlal think that the terms 'Mahārishi' and 'Maharajuni' in these places mean 'great warrior' and 'wife of a great warrior' respectively. But I submit with great deference to these eminent scholars that there are serious objections against their interpretations. In the first place there is no great propriety in calling a person a 'Maharathi' (great warrior) in making a brief votive dedication. Moreover, if we scan the numerous inscriptions contained in the books referred to in the note above, we shall find that they generally register the donor's domicile, his residence, his rank and position, his clan or family, his occupation and his relationship by blood or otherwise to other people. In this light to interpret 'Mahārathi' as meaning one who belongs to the country or clan of 'Maharajuni' would be very natural and appropriate. Besides it is not clear that all the donors to whose name the appellation 'Mahārathi' is prefixed were such persons as to deserve the high sounding title 'Maharathi'. On the contrary some of them at least appear to have been persons of a more peaceful turn of mind. It will be seen from the inscriptions to be found at the places referred to above that the donor's name is almost invariably preceded by a word denoting his place of residence in the ablative or by some derivative word co-ordinated with the donor's name (wherever his place of residence or domicile is at all intended). There is no reason why this should not be so in the case of Maharathi or Mahārishi. But the most formidable objection is that the interpretation entirely begs the question at issue. To those who affirm that the term 'Maharajuni' signifies a person of the country or clan of Maharajuni it would not be a satisfactory answer to say that, as Maharashtra is specifically mentioned as a country only from the 5th Century A. D. the term 'Mahārishi' must be interpreted differently. The only way of making their interpretation doubtful would be by showing that in parts of India other than Maharashtra and in connection with persons who could not have belonged to Maharashtra the term Maharathi is used in Prakrit epigraphical records of the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era in the sense of 'great warrior'.

I think therefore it is possible (I do not use a stronger phrase) that Maharashtra was so called from about 200 B. C. (the age of the Naghat inscription) if not earlier.

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME MAHARASHTRA

It is unfortunate that scholars are not at one as to the origin of the term Maharashtra. It was Molesworth who in his Marathi Dictionary (Intro. p. 23) started the startling theory that Maharashtra was

so called after the Mahars, one of the lowest castes among Hindus, the members of which are untouchable. The Rev Dr John Wilson lent the weight of his authority to that theory.<sup>1</sup> He quotes the Marathi proverb गांव आहे तेथे महाराष्ट्रा आहे in support of his opinion and compares the word with Gurjara rāshtra, Saurashtra or Sura rashtra (the country of Suras). The idea of these venerable scholars seems to be that the Mahars represent the aboriginal races of the present Maharashtra, who were vanquished by the Aryan invaders from the north and that the conquerors called the land the conquered aborigines inhabited after the latter. I frankly own that I fail to understand how the Marathi proverb supports the theory that Maharashtra is the country of Mahars. All that the proverb literally means is that the Mahars are to be found in every village and it implies nothing more than the expression 'black sheep' does in English. This theory finds believers even now.<sup>2</sup> Oppert identifies the Mallas with the Mahars and says: 'Maharashtra was also called 'Mallarashtra' the country of the Mallas. The Mallas are the same as Maras who are better known as Murs or Mhars. Mhar was eventually transformed into Mahar: in fact both forms exist in modern Marathi. Two terms identical in meaning Mallarashtra and Maharashtra were thus used. The former dropped into oblivion and with the waning fortunes of the Mahars their connection with the name was soon forgotten and Maharashtra was explained as meaning the 'Great Kingdom' instead of the kingdom of Mahars or Mallas' (on the original inhabitants of Bharatvarsha, 1893, p. 22 and foot note). A more uncritical passage than this it would be difficult to find. Has Dr Oppert brought forward any single epigraphic record of the ancient Mahar kings of Maharashtra? By what philological laws does he identify Mallas with Mhar? Has he shown any ancient Sanskrit writings locating the Mallas in what is Maharashtra at present? Parvati, which Dr Wilson identified with Ptolemy's Pouravaroti, is not the name of a tribe but an official designation. It is the same as Patavari, the holder of a Patta, a royal or other grant on copper or a piece of cloth (i.e., a village or other officer). Reliance is placed on what the Mahars say as to their being the original inhabitants. Granting that they are so, it does not necessarily follow that Maharashtra was so named after them. There are numerous scholars who dismiss this theory of the origin of the name Maharashtra as untenable. It is not explained how, of all others, it was the Mahars,

<sup>1</sup> See I. A. Vol III, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> See Baden-Powell in J. R. A. S. for 1899, first note a.

<sup>3</sup> P. 2. See Sir Walter Elliot in I. A. Vol. 5, p. 108.

who are lowest in the social scale that give a name to the country. In the case of the Gurjaras we can understand a country being designated after them as they were conquerors. Epigraphy has failed to bring forward the slightest trace of the conquest of Maharashtra by the Mahars at any period of history. There are scholars who would identify the Mahars with the Mihirs (Persian 'Mihr') and Muttrakas who were a branch of the Huns that under Toramana and Mihirakula overthrew the early Guptas in Kathiawar and in their turn met their match in the Senapati Bhatirka<sup>1</sup> of Valabhi. Granting for a moment the correctness of this identification it is not clear how Maharashtra came to be called after them. Ancient history does not tell us when the Mihirs or Muttrakas overran the Mitha country as they are said to have overrun Sindh, Rajputana and Kathiawar. If the Mahars were like the Muttrakas conquerors no explanation is offered why they fell so low in the social scale in subsequent times. But the best reason for rejecting this theory of the identity of the Muttrakas with the Mihirs and of Maharashtra being named after the Mahars is furnished by the data mentioned above as to the times when Maharashtra came to be so called. The Huns under Toramana and Mihirakula fought the Gupta Emperors in the latter half of the 5th Century A. D.<sup>2</sup> But we have already seen that the Mahavamsa composed about the same time mentions Maharashtra as the name of a country. Hence the term Maharashtra had come into vogue at least as early as the time when the Huns under Toramana were fighting Skandigupta. If we accept the theory that Maharashtra was so named after the Mahars by the Aryan invaders in the dawn of the history of the Deccan it is not unreasonable to expect that the earliest references to the country south of the Vindhya should mention Maharashtra. Instead of the latter we find such names as Yamka and Dakshinaputra. Eminent scholars like Dr Fleet think that the earliest mention of Maharashtra as a country is that in the Mahavamsa. But it can never be said that the present Maharashtra was conquered by the Aryan invaders only in the 4th Century A.D. or thereabouts. Aryan culture had spread over Maharashtra several centuries before the date of the Mahavamsa.

<sup>1</sup> Oppert (in his book mentioned above p. 47) says that Mihirvara (Ajmer) and Alwar (Jodhpur) are the ancient home of the Mihirs. See I. A. Vol. 3 pp. 36-37 where the Mihirs are traced to Ka Puwar even now and to Meerwa in Rajputana. *J. Ind. Soc.* 1, part 1, p. 37. For the identification of Muttrakas with Mihirs, the Vindhya or Mithra tribe. *Bom. G. L.* part 1, pp. 130-6. Dr Fleet (in his collection of inscriptions, p. 32) suggests that the Muttrakas, that is, the Mihirs, were the particular family or clan among the Huns to which तौरमण्य and मिहिरकुल belonged. But see against this J. R. A. S. for 1935, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See *Cor. Ins. I. A. S.* pp. 38 and 40. *J. Ind. Soc.* 1, part 1, p. 3.

What then is the origin of the term *Maharashtra*? Two solutions seem possible. The one is very ably set forth by Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar in his 'Early History of the Deccan'. "The *Rāshtrakas* or—according to Manselira version *Rastrakas*, corresponding to the Sanskrit *Rashtrakas*, were very likely the people of *Maharashtra*, for a tribe of the name of *Rastras* has from the remotest times held political supremacy in the Deccan. One branch of it assumed the name *Rashtrakūṭas* and governed the country before the *Chalukyas* acquired power. In later times chieftains of the name of *Raj* is governed *Sugandhivarti* or *Saundatti* in the Belgaum District. *Bhojas* we know ruled over the country of *Vidarbha* or *Berar* and also in other parts of the Deccan. Just as the *Bhojas* called themselves *Mahabhojas*, the *Rāshtrakas*, *Rajpis*, *Rajpūts* or *Rajputs* called themselves *Maharajpūts* or *Maharajputs* and thus the country in which they lived came to be called *Maharajpūts* the Sanskrit for which is *Maharashtra*."¹

This is one way of explaining the origin of the term *Maharashtra*. The only objection against this explanation is that the connecting links are rather weak. The *Rashtrakūṭas* attained to the sovereignty of the Deccan only in the 8th Century A.D. while the term *Maharashtra* came into vogue at least three centuries before that period. It is the *Andhrabhrityas* or *Satavahans*, the *Vakṣakas* and the *Chalukyas* that held the sovereignty of the Deccan in succession from 200 B.C. to about 750 A.D. With great diffidence I make bold to suggest another explanation of the term *Maharashtra*. *Maharashtra* means 'great or wide country'. From the remotest times of which historical records are available there was a great forest running through the peninsula of India variously designated *Mahābhūtar* or *Dīpābhūtar* or *Mahājavā*. As the great forest came to be gradually cleared up and replaced by towns and villages springing up, as population increased this great tract of forest land came to be called *Maharashtra* as also *Mahāskan*

¹ *Donn. Gl.* Vol. I part 2 p. 146. But see *Donn. Gl.* Vol. I, p. 182, note 2, where Dr. Fleet criticises the views of Dr. Bhandarkar and takes *Mahāskan* as meaning 'wide of a great water' and calls attention to such Marathi words as *राष्ट्रपति* *राष्ट्रपति* &c. His main view is that the *राष्ट्रपति* comes from *राष्ट्र* of *Rajputana* and hence and that *Ratra* is an abbreviation of *राष्ट्रपति* and not the original name of which *राष्ट्रपति* is an amplification as Dr. Bhandarkar thinks. See *Donn. Gl.* I, p. 182. There is much to be said in favour of Dr. Fleet's remarks. If the terms *Rajput* and *Rashtrakuta* can be easily shown to be closely connected according to the rules of phonology, then the meaning he assigns to *Maharashtra* would be acceptable for etymology even though Puranic history does not tell us that the *Rajputas* were the people who were at the time when the name *Maharashtra* was coined for the first time.

Ura<sup>1</sup> It was probably during the time of the Andhrabhūtyas or Satavahanas that Maharashtra came to be so called (i.e., about 200 B.C.) The Satavahanas were very powerful and their dominions extended from the Coromandel Coast on the east to the Ghats on the west. Paithan was their capital in the western portion of the Deccan. There are many countries the latter portion of the names of which ends in Rashtra, the first portion being not always easily explicable. Kathia-

<sup>1</sup> See Pargier's article on the Geography of Rima & Co. in J. R. A. S. for 1804 p. 242. He comes to the conclusion that in the times of the Ramāyana Dandaka appears to have been a general name which comprised all the forest from Bundelkhand down to the river K. shya. According to the list of Tribes in the Vānaparva (Chap. 83, 40-42) the Dandaka rānya seems to have been located somewhere between the Tāp and Payodhī on the one hand and Central India on the other. Horn & Vol. 23 p. 72, says that eight places in the Diapur District such as Aival, Badim, Bagalkot, &c. are connected by local tradition with the Dandaka forest. The Rāmāyana speaks of a city called Vajayanta in Dandakāranya अयोध्याकाण्ड 9. 8 'दिशामाश्रय किकीपी दक्षिणी दण्डकान् मति । वैजयन्तमिति कथितं सुर यत्र तिमिराञ्ज ॥' Is Vajayanta the same as Vagayand the Byzantion of Ptolemy? The Virkāditya Purāṇa enumerates the Vaidarbhas along with the Dandakas (Chap. 37-47 'वैदर्भा दण्डके मठः'). The Periplus after referring to the region called Dakshinadesa says 'The inland country back from the coast toward the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains and all kinds of wild beasts leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents, hyenas, baboons of many sorts and many populous nations as far as the Ganges.' (Schoff's edition p. 43, Sec. 50). Hsuen-Tsang's travels contain a reference to a wild forest between Kung-hu-napulo (कौकणपुर) and Moholacha (महाराष्ट्र). From this ground in the west we enter a great forest wild, where savage beasts and bands of robbers inflict injury on travelers. Going thus 2500 or 3500 li we come to the country of Moholacha (Beal's Buddhist Records, Vol. II, p. 253). Even so late an author as Hemādri locates Deogarh in Soudadesa, which he says was on the confines of the Dandakāranya (Horn & Vol. 1 part 2 p. 23). The Allahabad stone-plate inscription of समुद्रगुप्त informs us that the region called महाकान्तार formed a part of Dakshinapatha (Corpus Ins. I Vol. III p. 7). The Khol copperplate of महाराजसमर्थ (गुप्तसत् 100, 11, 52-59 A.D.) speaks of हानिन्त्रा हरिर्दक्षिणी अङ्गं वर्तमानं Dabhala (Bundelkhand) with the 18 forest kingdoms. (Corpus Ins. III p. 104). The बृहत्संहिता mentions a country called महाराष्ट्र in the south 'कर्णामहाराष्ट्रविश्वरूपातिविकीर्णमिहिरिकोल' Chap. 14, v. 13. In the Uttarakhanda the दण्डकारण्य is located between सिन्धु and शैब्य and is said to have been originally a prosperous kingdom ruled by दण्ड the youngest of the hundred sons of इक्ष्वाकु and reduced to a wilderness for having slain a serpent the daughter of पार्श्व (Chap. 8 vv. 18-19). The कामेश्वर describes the plight of कनक दण्डवर्धन, who perished for casting anathema eyes towards a Brahmin girl. The commentator says that his kingdom was the same as दण्डकारण्य.

war has, from very ancient times been named Surashtra<sup>1</sup>. We do not know for certain why it was called a good kingdom. Perhaps it was so called because it was a fertile or flourishing country. Some explain it as the land of Sus. But what people were called Sus, nobody can definitely say. In various epigraphical records we come across regions called Karnarashtra, Goparashtra, Devarashtra and Purvarashtra without being able to determine their exact location<sup>2</sup>. From the details furnished in the note below it will be seen that all these four regions were included in Dikshinapithi used in the wider sense. Hence it is possible to derive Maharashtra as meaning the Great Country<sup>3</sup>.

### THE EXTENT AND BOUNDARIES OF MAHARASHTRA

It is difficult to assign exact limits to the extent of Maharashtra in ancient times. In modern times the exact boundaries may be approximately obtained by taking the extent of the territories over which the Marathi language is spoken. On the west it extends from

<sup>1</sup> The Baudhayana Smṛiti mentions मुराष्ट्र as a country with people of mixed Aryan and Kṛda page 66 above. In the Pāṇinīya Śākhā's Saurashtrika woman is referred to. The रामायण speaks of मौराष्ट्र as the abode of दशरथ 'मौर्वीनाम्नि धुनीवीरान् मौराष्ट्रैवाभिवर्धिवान्' (I 12-27) 'इविहा सिन्धुसीवीरान् मौराष्ट्रं दक्षिणापथा' (II 10-37). In a Nasik inscription of Gotama putra the Prakrit form Surashtra occurs (J. B. R. A. S. vol. V, p. 126). In the Girnar inscription of रुद्रदामन्, मुराष्ट्र is mentioned (A. S. W. I. Vol. II p. 126). In the Junagadh rock-cut inscription of रुद्रदामन् (155 A. D.) we read सर्वेषु भूमेष्वपि सहतेषु यो मे शशिम्पामिलितान् मुराष्ट्रान् (Cor. Ins. I. Vol. III p. 9). A grant of भुवनेश्वर of बलभी dated बलभीसंवत् 310 (629 A. D.) has मुराष्ट्र बालापत्रपथके भस्मन्तपाम् (J. A. vol. VI p. 15). See Dom. G. Vol. I part I p. 6. Its earliest foreign mention is perhaps Strabo's (B. C. 30 to 20 A. D.) Sorastrus and Pliny's (A. D. 70) Orastura. Ptolemy and the Periplus call it Sorastrene. The Mādhavaṇṇa (S. B. I. Vol. 36 p. 211) refers to the people of Surashtra.

<sup>2</sup> A कर्मराष्ट्र country is mentioned in an eastern Chalukya grant (I. A. Vol. 20, p. 100). गोपराष्ट्र seems to be Nasik. नागवर्धन, son of जयसिंह brother of the great पुलकेशि II made a grant of Dalegrāma in the गोपराष्ट्र district (J. B. R. A. S. Vol. II p. 121; J. B. R. A. S. Vol. 14 p. 26 and Dom. G. I part 2 p. 183). In the भीमराय Chap. 9, 24, we meet with a country called गोपराष्ट्र दशराष्ट्र mentioned as a part of दक्षिणापथ conquered by समुद्रगुप्त (Cor. Ins. I. Vol. III p. 72). A coin is mentioned to identify with महाराष्ट्र or दशगिरि (J. R. A. S. for 1877 p. 274). The Arang copperplate of भीमराज records a grant of Pambā in the vicinity of पूर्वराष्ट्र from शरमपुर and the Raypur copper plate contains a grant of श्रीमाहिवा in the पूर्वराष्ट्र made in the शरमपुर (C. Ins. I. Vol. III, pages 192 and 201).

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Bunnell (Intro. to the South Indian Palaeography p. VI) said that Rāṣṭra was a metaphorical pervasion of Rāṣṭra which he held to be equivalent to Canara and Telugu Rāṣṭra or Kōṣṭra.





raishtra were we shall see later on. From several grants the villages mentioned in which can be satisfactorily identified we shall see that in ancient times the villages were at least as large as in modern times.<sup>1</sup> The probabilities are that the sites of villages were, if anything larger in ancient times than at present. Population was not so dense as it is now. The same village was often split up into two in later times. Therefore we shall not miscalculate if we take the 99,000 villages comprised in Maharashtra in the 7th Century as having been as large as the villages at present. Dr Fleet says that there are less than 42,000 villages and hamlets in the whole of the Bombay Presidency, excluding Sindh and the Native States.<sup>2</sup> To allow room for 99,000 villages Maharashtra must have been at least double of this and must have extended up to the Narmada on the North, the Krishna on the South, and far into the Central Provinces and the Nizam's Dominions. From Hiouen Tsang's accounts we see that Maharashtra was about 2400 or 2500 li (i.e., about 400 miles according to Cunningham)<sup>3</sup> to the north west of Kung-kun-ta-pulo (𑖀𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔) and that its extent was about 5000 li (i.e., about 800 miles).<sup>4</sup> He further says that the capital borders in the west on a great river and that going from Maharashtra 1000 li to the west and crossing the Naimoto (Narmada) we arrive at the kingdom of Po-lukiechepo<sup>5</sup> (Bharukichchippa i.e. modern Broach). We are further told that on the eastern frontier of Maharashtra there was a rock cut Buddhist Vihara, which seems to have been the Ajanta caves. All these details point to the present Maharashtra excluding Barar and Central Provinces as Ajanta is mentioned on the eastern frontier.<sup>6</sup> Almost the same details are given in Hiouen Thsang's life,<sup>7</sup> except that Broach is said to be to the north west instead of in the west as in the travels. In the Bālir mātīyina of Rajasekhara we find that while Rama and Sita are on their journey from Ceylon to Ayodhya in the Pushpakasimāsa Sugriva draws Rama's attention to Maharashtra and Rama in his turn at the same moment pours into the ears of Shanaulogy of Vidarbha and then refers to Kuntala as the seat of the

<sup>1</sup> See I.A. 17 p. 187-82 (Magnuma grant of Dindja II dated Śaka 414 i.e. 497-404 A.D.) I.A. Vol. 17 p. 124-5 (The Kalabaddhi grant of Bhallama III dated 𑖀𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔 948 i.e. 125 A.D. in this case).

<sup>2</sup> Rom. C. Vol. I Part 2, p. 298 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> A.G.I. Appendix B, p. 371.

<sup>4</sup> Beal's Buddhist Records, Vol. II p. 236.

<sup>5</sup> Beal's B.R. Vol. II p. 236.

<sup>6</sup> Dr Fleet says that the country called Maharashtra by Hiouen Thsang would have been more appropriately called Kuntala in Mahābhārata, Rom. C. vol. I, part 2, p. 345 n. 4.

<sup>7</sup> See Beal's Life of Hiouen Thsang, pp. 496-497.

distances of Cup d<sup>1</sup>. Sita then breaks in by referring to Vidarbha as the home of Indumati the mother of her father in law Dasarathi, while Tripti puts to Sita a conundrum about Narmada. Raja Sekhara was himself a poet of Maharashtra as he informs us that he was the fourth in descent from Akalajada who is styled 'Maharashtra Chudamani' in the first act of the *Balaramayana*. Maharashtra, Vidarbha and Kuntala are here referred to as if in one breath and as being below the Narmada. Alberuni (about 1000 A. D.) says marching from Dhar southwards you come to the valley of Narmada 7 farsakhs from Dhar Maharashtra 18 farsakhs the province of Konkan and its capital Tana on the sea coast 25 farsakhs<sup>2</sup>. From this we see that even in Alberuni's day the Konkan was not included in Maharashtra which extended southwards from the Narmada. The commentator of the *Harasutra* says that the country of Maharashtra lies between the Narmada and the Karnatic.

The foregoing discussion gives us a pretty clear idea as to the extent of Maharashtra. The Konkan was generally not included therein. In the present essay also, I shall not, as a rule go into the details of the geography of the Konkan. But from the most ancient times the ports of Konkan such as Sopara and Chaul were the scenes of the greatest maritime activity which brought the Konkan in intimate touch with foreign nations of the West. The ports where the Chauls were in close connection with the ports, towns and cities of Konkan as is evidenced by the inscriptions in the Nanughat and other places in the Konkan. The Konkan was also politically in close connection with the country above the Ghats. Northern Konkan was a portion of the kingdom of the Satrapas of Vidarbha and also of the Satavahanas. The Chulavik Imperialors Kirtivarma and Kulakesh II are said to have

<sup>1</sup> Benares Pandit Vol. III for १८७५, p. २७१ (Ch. Act) मुर्धनिव भरताग्र च यमम  
गदाराविषय राम — यक्षेण विदिवाय वरम निगमस्याय च वत्तसम स्वादिष्ठ च  
यक्षेणवादाय रसाकोष्ठय यक्षयुग्मम् । सद्यस्मिन् मधुर प्रसादिररावत् कान्त च वाव्यामृत  
सोऽय मुञ्च पुरो विदमविषय सारस्वतीजग्मम् ॥ ७४ किंच । रतेविद्याविद्यमाना  
विभ्रमोत्तममद । नित्य कुन्तलकान्तानां किन्तो मकरध्वज ॥ ७५ साता—  
जहि उज्जणा म विदामहगुरस्य परिणो इन्दुमदी निजटा—कीटकोलकलस्य  
विभ्रमवति सता मुराधम । का च गुता शक्तिरित्काय विन्यमदीधरधाम ॥  
साता—नर्मदा



in the grants of their opponents) as *Ratipadi* or *Rattipadi* ११ Lakh country.<sup>1</sup> There is a sharp conflict of views as to the meaning of this latter expression.<sup>2</sup> The Imperial Gazetteer (Vol. V, page 291, note) says that these numbers (occurring in such expressions as *Ratipadi* ११ Lakh, *Gingav* 1196,000, *Nolimbav* 1013,000, *Bunavasi* 12,000, *Torigale* 6,000, *Kunli* 3,000, *Konkan* 600, etc.) refer to their revenue capacity or to the number of their *Nads* (or districts). Mr. Rice thinks that the numbers denote revenue value and apparently indicated *nishkas*. Mr. Aiyinger (*Ancient India*, p. 78, footnote) thinks that the numbers either indicate the revenue or income or sometimes the quantity of seed required. But Mr. Aiyinger does not tell us the purpose for which the seed was required. Dr. Fleet is of opinion that the numbers refer to villages, in some cases grossly exaggerated. Mr. Viswambhar (see J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 708) brings to notice a new inscription of 901 A. D. from Bandulke which speaks of the Mahasamant Lal Itayavasa governing 31,100 villages comprising the *Bunavasi* 12,000, the *Pilavagi* 12,000 and *Manyakhedi* 6,000 etc. The view of Dr. Fleet seems to me to be the right one. In a grant of the Shilah prince Aparajita of Thana Konkan is expressly said to contain 1,400 villages.<sup>3</sup> We cannot say that taxes were usually collected in money; it was rather the reverse. Besides the numbers attached to various districts remain unchanged for centuries together. It cannot be said that the revenue never fluctuated for centuries, but it is very probable that the number of villages did not vary from century to century. Moreover, there is nothing to show what the standard of value was with reference to which these numbers were given and that this standard was uniform from Diksha (Bandell Land) to southern India.<sup>4</sup> Hence it is better to assume that the numbers refer to villages and hamlets. In that case *Ratipadi* the dominion of the *Ratipadkot* is, would be very extensive indeed and would stand for a country very much larger than Maharashtra.

<sup>1</sup> See from C. Vol. I p. 31 & 32. In the दक्षिणग्रन्थ grant of 1028 A. D., the second king of the later चालुक्य is described as ruling over दक्षिण ११ लक्ष records of his घोट opponent राजराजदेव describe the latter as the conqueror of the ११ लक्ष country. See also on दक्षिणग्रन्थ. Aspurao's वाणि inscription of 1250 A.D. mentions a letter of an emperor to a Ruler of a ११ लक्ष country containing 12,000 villages as the अधिभूत.<sup>2</sup> J. R. A. S. 1913 p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> See J. R. A. S. 1912 p. 67 (Dr. Fleet).

<sup>4</sup> See F. I. Vol. III p. 202-270. चतुर्दशमामशानोपनिषत्कौश्यान्-पति

<sup>5</sup> An inscription of Harshana a Mysore of the time of the Kalachurya Ruler of Kalyan speaks of the latter कृत्य ११ लक्ष ग्रामान् अधिभूतान् अधिभूतान् of the ११ लक्ष Diksha country or Chetana (Calicut). See C. Vol. I p. 468.

## MOUNTAINS OF MAHARASHTRA

The Purāṇas contain long lists of the mountains and hills of India. The traditional number of the principal mountain ranges is seven.<sup>1</sup> Out of these we are concerned with the Vindhya and the Sahya. The Vindhya runs along the Narmadā and thus is on the northern border of Maharashtra, while the Sahya furnishes the western boundary of Maharashtra almost throughout. The Anuśāṅgī mentions these two mountains along with others.<sup>2</sup> The Vāyupurāṇa gives a list of subsidiary mountains,<sup>3</sup> one of which Kṛṣṇaśikarī, the modern Kanheri hill, may be mentioned here although it falls outside the limits of Maharashtra as defined above. The Brāhmapurāṇa<sup>4</sup> (Chap. 27) gives a long list of mountains, none of which can be definitely located in Maharashtra. The Bhīṣma-purāṇa also gives a very long list in prose (V, 29-36). It mentions a Dāngarī after Sahya. It is not clear by what name the Satpura range between the Narmadā and the Tapi is referred to in the Purāṇas. It may be the Rikṣa Parvatā, one of the seven principal ranges or it may have been included under the Vindhya. Mr. Lundolp Day identifies the Vaidurya mountain with the modern Satpura range.<sup>5</sup> The Rikṣa

<sup>1</sup> Vāyupurāṇa, Chap. 43, Verse 28.

<sup>2</sup> S. D. E. Vol. VIII p. 316 (अनुशांगी Chap. 28) हिमवत्, पारियात्र, सद्य विन्ध्य, विष्णुवत्, श्वेत, नील (modern Nigun) भास, कोटवन्, मोड गुराकथ, मलयवत् are mentioned as the principal among mountains. Is विष्णु the same as that mentioned by कालिदास in रघुवंश 4. 59, or is it the same as the विरहिम (Trahim in the Navl Cave inscriptions) mount near Navik?

<sup>3</sup> Vāyupurāṇa Chap. 43, v. 29-36.

<sup>4</sup> कोलाहल सर्वभ्राजा मन्दरो दर्दराचल ।  
वातन्धयो वैशुतथ मेनाक गुरास्तथा ॥  
तुङ्गप्रस्थो नागगिरिगोधन पाण्डराचल ॥  
पुष्पगिरिर्वैजयन्तो रैवतोऽर्जुन एव च ।  
ऋषभमूक. सगोमन्थ (न्त + ल) कृतशैल कृताचल ।  
आपावन्तश्चकोरश्च शतशोऽप्ये च पर्वताः ॥ 27-34

<sup>5</sup> See his geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p. 7. Pāṇini mentions Vaidūra विदूराऽप्य (IV 3. 74) from which came the valuable stone वैदूर्य पतञ्जलि's comment on this runs 'अमुवातो निर्देशो न सती विदूरात्मभवति किं तर्हि दालवायात्मभवति विदूरे सन्निवृत्ते' (C. Vol. II p. 13). An amount called वैदूर्यशिला is described as being on the नर्मदा in the list of Western तार्पयः the कनपर्व (Chap. 80. 6).

yana in several places speaks of Sāhya as a very extensive range.<sup>1</sup> Coming to epigraphical records we have a list of mountains in one of the Nasik inscriptions of Gotamiputra. The mountains mentioned are Himavata, Meru, Mandara, Vajhra, Chhaviṭa, Parichṭa (Pariyatra, modern Aravalli range including Mount Abu), Sāhya, Kanhagiri, Mancha, Sirigana, Malavi, Mahida (Mahendra), Setagiri and Chak-<sup>2</sup> In several Nasik inscriptions, the hill on which the Pandulena caves are excavated is called Tirinhu Parvata 'Tirismu Parvata' in Sanskrit.<sup>3</sup> In several inscriptions of Western India various donors are styled as coming from Sādhagiri or Sadhagiri. It may stand for the Salsette Hills.<sup>4</sup> The hill on which the Kanheri Caves were excavated was called Kanhagiri or Kanhasela in the prakrit and कृष्णागिरि in Sanskrit.<sup>5</sup> In the cave temples of Western India there are inscriptions mentioning several isolated hills e.g., the hill near the Bedsa caves seems to have been called Marakuda (Marakūṭa in Sanskrit) and the hill Minamo in near Junnar appears to have been designa-

<sup>1</sup> बुद्धकाण्ड 4.37 'अपश्यत् तिरिथेष्टे सद्य गिरिशतायुतम्'। See also verses 72-76

<sup>2</sup> See J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. V p. 49 and also Bom. C. Vol. 16 p. 330 विज्ञातवत् stands for विध्यक्षवत्—the विन् and क्षवत् mountains. The क्षवत् seems to be a portion of the विध्य near नर्मदा or the Satpura range कालिदास mentions क्षवत् as a mountain near नर्मदा (ए. V. 44). The ब्रह्मपुराण (see below) makes the names तापी, पदोज्जी, निर्विन्ध्या etc. in the क्षवत्. That पारियात्र was in Malā seems clear from the बृहत्संहिता 'मालवसमभक्तवत्सुराश्रुन्त्यसिधुविदयप्रमृतीति। विकसाशितधनोऽवति राजा पारियात्र नित्य कृतबुद्धिः॥ मनतिवर्षो मानयोऽय एववति सम्पदमागारतीर्थे'। Chap. 69. 1. 2. Buhler prefers the form पारियात्र. It is suggested in J. B. B. R. A. S. V. p. 5 that मर्वे and मिरिदन (?) क्षातन) may be Nigra. According to Bombay G. Vol. 6 p. 639 मिरिदन is श्रीशैव in Telugu. What कृष्णागिरि is not clear. Dr. Bhagmalal takes to be पद्मगिरि, लक्ष्मीगिरि or पद्मिगिरि? चकार is also mentioned as a mountain in the passage of the ब्रह्मपुराण quoted above.

<sup>3</sup> See Bombay Gazet. etc. Vol. 6 inscriptions Nos. 3, 5, 18, &c.

<sup>4</sup> See Buhler and Bhagmalal's inscriptions from cave temples of Western India p. 4 (Kuda Ins. No. 1) 'महाभोजाय सडगिरिय विजयाय एतस महाभोजस मदेवत &c. the same words in inscription 9 (at p. 9, 10) but in No. 19 we read महाभोजस साडकरस सुदमस दुहनुव' &c. See also J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. V pp. 170-1. Modern Salsette was called पद्मगिरि, I do the inscription of the Konkan चक्रवर्ति अवरादिदेव of Saka 1109 (3783 A. D.) where the village Mahasul (modern Mahul) was said to be included in पद्मगिरि (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VI p. 433).

<sup>5</sup> See A. S. W. I. Vol. V p. 70 (Kanheri Ins. No. 25 of the time of गोतमिपुत्र सिरियत्र मलकण्डि); A. S. W. I. p. 231 (Ins. of Saka 765 = 481-44 A. D. of पुत्रशक्ति the महासामंत of Konkan (कृष्णागिरि)).

to the Malabar Coast.<sup>1</sup> The *Mad Nasir Jami* and other works in Persian contain some passing notices of hills in the Deccan. In the story of the two merchants of Sura passing we read of a hill called Modugiri on the seashore near Suppara (modern Sopara) on which Punnaji dwelt for some time, whence he returned to Maligiri which was not far from Modugiri.<sup>2</sup> The only other hill mentioned is Satehrabadi on the northern watershed of the Varanadi when going from Sopara to Sewai (Sevasati). Ptolemy mentions seven mountains in India proper, i.e. India.<sup>3</sup> They are, (1) Apokop, called Parnai Parn and to be the Aravalli hills, (2) Mount Sindora (the present Sitpudi), (3) Mount Oudon (Vindhyā), (4) Betteg, a peak of Malaya, (5) Adasithira to the west of which Ptolemy locates both Bakhira (Bakhira) and Ujaira, (6) Oudon, the eastern continuation of the Vindhyā, which McCrindle identifies with Rishayana, (7) Oudon mountains (which Yule identifies with Vudōrya) the northern section of the Western Ghats. Kālidāsa when describing the conquering expeditions of Pāṇdu refers to a hill Trikūṭa in Aprarata (Rigveda 4.59). It is not possible to identify this hill. Dr. Briggs would think that Trikūṭa refers to certain hills near Junnar (B. C., Vol. I, p. 1, para. 57). To like Trikūṭa is the name of a city (as done in B. C., Vol. I, p. 2, para. 13, note 5) in this passage does not seem to be correct.

As mountain passes very little information is available. But there can be no doubt that some of the present passes in the Western Ghats must have been also in use from ancient times. As we are told in the accounts of Greek writers that Barygaza (Baruch) Scappur (K. Penta) (Kalyan) and Semylla (Chhat) on the Western Coast were emporia of trade to which merchandise from the whole of India was brought for being carried to the marts of the West and as we have stories of merchants proceeding from Sopara on the Konkan Coast to Sravasti the passes that connect these coast towns with the cities on the Ghats must have been much used routes even before the Christian era. Merchandise must have flowed to Sopara through the Thal pass and must have connected it with Nasik and the Malwa and Narmada pass would have brought it in close communication with Junnar and Indur. Inscriptions and cave remains at Kardana, Jambhug and Ambhala in the Thana District and at Karle, Bhaja and Bedsa in the Poona District establish that the Bar pass was much

<sup>1</sup> See *Bhagwan and Bhatta*, a list of emporia of Western India p. 26 (I. Ind. No. 1) and p. 27 (I. Ind. No. 2) and p. 28 (I. Ind. No. 3).

<sup>2</sup> See *Hardy's Map of India* (2nd Ed.) p. 20 and *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India* Vol. 6 p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> See *McCrindle's History of India* p. 23, 3.



resorted to for purposes of trade between 100 and 600 A.D. This holds good of the Kumbharli pass connecting Chiplun and Dabhol with the ancient district of Karmataka (modern Karad)

### THE RIVERS OF MAHARASHTRA

In the Mahabharata we have perhaps the most copious list of the rivers of India.<sup>1</sup> But it is of doubtful authenticity. The Vayu and Matsya Puranas agree remarkably in the list of rivers enumerated by them.<sup>2</sup> The Brahma Purana had a similar but slightly different list before it. The Padma Purana (Chap. 6) enumerates the rivers of India in a confused way without specifying the mountains from which they rise. And so does the Bhagavata Purana in prose (V. 19.18). In an inscription of Ushavadata son-in-law of the Kshatriya Nahapanta, (Nasik No. 10 and I. V. 12 p. 27 and J. B. B. R. V. 5, Vol. V p. 49) we come across the rivers Barnasa, Ibi, Paridi, Danvina, Tapi, Karibena and Dahamukhi, out of which the Tapi alone falls within the limits of Maharashtra as defined above. In the Gita Rahita mahadodhi of Vardhamana we meet with more than a dozen rivers ending in the list also but unfortunately none of them can be unmistakably identified.<sup>3</sup>

We shall now take up the larger rivers of Maharashtra from the Narmada southwards and then enumerate some of the lesser ones. The epigraphic records mention many small and insignificant streams which I shall pass over.

**Narmada**—The earliest reference seems to be in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>4</sup> where we read of a priest called Revottara Pativa Chakra Sthipati. Rev is another name for Narmada.<sup>5</sup> We know

<sup>1</sup> भीष्मपर्व Chap. 9. 14-6. The समापर्व has a similar list (Chap. 9. 18-23).

<sup>2</sup> वायुपुराण Chap. 45 vv. 202-209. तापी पयोष्णी निर्बेया मद्रा च निषधा नदी । वेवा ( = वेवा ) वैतरणी चैव शिनिवाह । कुमुदती ॥ तोवा चैव मडागरी दुर्गा चातशिला तथा । विन्ध्यपदप्रसूता नद्य पुण्यजला शुभा ॥ गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णा वैश्वथ सञ्जुला । तद्भद्रा मययोगा कावेरी च तथापगा ॥ दक्षिणपथनयतनु सप्तपदादिभिर्भृता ॥ See मत्स्यपुराण Chap. 114 vv. 27-29.

दक्षपुराण Chap. 20 vv. 11-3. नर्मदा सुमाव्याधनयोर्विन्ध्यादिभिर्भृता । तापी पयोष्णी निर्बिन्ध्या कावेरीप्रसूता नदी । कञ्जपादोदवा विता भृता ताप हरति या । गोदावरी भीमरथा कृष्णवैश्वथदिकारुता । सप्तपदोदवा नद्य &c. See also Chap. 27.

<sup>3</sup> See गुणरत्नमहोदधि (Lagadikar) p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> S. B. E. Vol. 41 p. 2-6 209-212.

<sup>5</sup> But I imagine that the भागवतपुराण V. 11. 11. 11. mentions the Rev and Narmada separately.

from Buddhist stories that Nāga kings on the Narmada requested Buddha to leave his footprint, which is said to be still visible in the Yon country, and that from the river Buddha went to the rock Sāchabridha.<sup>1</sup> In the Vinayavyākhyā the Narmada is mentioned (Chap. 85-9). Ptolemy refers to the sources of the Narmados in the Quidion range.<sup>2</sup> In the Brahma Purāṇa the Narmada is said to spring from Vindhya while the Matsya Purāṇa makes it rise from the Parvāṭa. The latter Purāṇa contains a Mithunīya of the river (Chap. 186 ff). In the Meghadūta kāvya it is said that the River comes into view from the Āmra Kūta hill and that it is to be seen straggling down the slopes of the Vindhya.<sup>3</sup> In the Saptasatī of Hla the author speaks of the River as possessing qualities that transcend those of other rivers.<sup>4</sup> The Brihatsamhitā mentions the Narmada as under the influence of Mars.<sup>5</sup> The Amarakośha mentions several synonyms of River or Narmadā. Hiuen Tsiang tells us that after crossing the Naimoto (Narmadā) we arrive at the kingdom of Polukiechepo (Bharukachhira or Broach).<sup>6</sup>

**Tāpi**—In the Mithibhārata the river Tapi seems to have been called Payoshni. In the list of Tirthas in the South the highest praise is bestowed on the Payoshni and it is spoken of as the river of King Dya.<sup>7</sup> But the Purāṇas clearly distinguish between the three rivers Tāpi, Payoshni and Nirvindhya. These three are said to spring from mountain Aksha according to the Brahma Purāṇa while the Matsya and Viṣṇu make them rise in the Vindhya. Ptolemy mentions the sources of a river Narmagouna as being in the Quidion range.<sup>8</sup> McCrindle (p. 128) identifies the Tapi with the Narmagouna. The Tapi is included in the list of rivers enumerated in the

<sup>1</sup> See Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* (2nd Ed.) p. 215. I. A. Vol. 16 pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> McCrindle's *Ptolemy* p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> मेघदूत Verse in 'वेदोऽक्षयस्युपलक्षिते विरच्यते विशीर्णम् ॥

<sup>4</sup> वामो बहला बगाला मुहता जलरङ्गुणो जल सिसिरम् । अण्णयैव वि रेवा नह वि अण्णे गुणा वेवि ॥ माध्यामपञ्चमी ५१ ॥

<sup>5</sup> Kern's *Büharsidita* Chap. 69.

<sup>6</sup> Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II p. 257.

<sup>7</sup> वनपर्व ३३ 'राजपैतव्यं च सविन्दुस्य मत्तपद । रम्यतार्थो बहुजला पयोः श्री दिवसेदिता ॥ ४ भवि चार महायोमी मार्कण्डेयो महायदा । अनुवदया जगौ गाथा नृगस्य प्रणीते ॥ ५ एवम मरित सच बद्धाया मल्लिकेश्वर । पयोणी चैवत पुण्या तीर्थेश्वो हि मता मग ॥ ५

<sup>8</sup> McCrindle's *Ptolemy* p. 63.

description of Ushavadata (see above p. 637). The Gathasaptasatī peaks of the holy banks of the Tapi (III, 39). The Bṛhatsaṃhita peaks of the sweet waters of the Tapi\*. The Pavoshmī is a feeder of the Tapi which after running underground for some distance falls into the Tapi at the town of Prakāsa, 25 miles north west of Dhulia in the Akhandesh district\*. Nundorī Dāy identifies the Nirvindhya with the Nāgrānga. But this does not seem to be correct. In the Meghadūta the poet tells us that the river Nirvindhya was to be met with on the road from Vidisa (Bhilsa) to Ujjayini\*.

*Godavari*—This river surpasses in sanctity the Krishna and may be styled the most sacred river of Maharashtra. We have quoted several passages about the sacred land of the seven Godavaris. The river Godavari is mentioned in the Sutrāṃṣu as running through the country of Asāka (Amraoti)\*. In the list of sacred places in the South we find that the Godavari is mentioned first as a holy river (Vāṇīpurā Chap. 89.2). In the Rāmāyaṇa we have frequent poetic descriptions of the scenery on the banks of the Godavari. The Brahmapurāṇa devotes about a hundred Chapters (70-173) to the Godavari and the sacred places on it. In one place we are told that the banks of the Godavari are the most charming country in the world\*. The Mātṛpurāṇa also says the same. The Saptasatī of Hala refers to the river Gola at least a dozen times and is very enthusiastic in its praise. The Bṛhatsaṃhita\* says that the Godavari

\* वै च विभक्तिं सुतोया तार्पिं ये चापि गमनामलिखन् ॥ इहस्तहिता ६.२

\* Bom. G. Vol. VII p. 406 note. But in the महाभारत seems that the पयोष्णी is तार्पि itself as the adject. स समुद्राणां in the passage quoted above clearly indicates.

\* मेघदूत Verse 29. 'निर्विन्ध्याया माय भव रसाभ्यान्तर मन्त्रितव्य'

\* Faubold's edition Verse 97 and S. B. F. Vol. V part 2 p. 81.

\* See अरण्यकाण्ड Chapters 25-6 etc.

\* ब्रह्मपुराण Chap. 27 verses 43-48. 'महास्य चोत्तरे यमुनो यत्र गोदावरी नदी । पृथिव्यामपि कृत्वाया स प्रदश मनोरम ॥ गवधनपुर रम्य भार्गवस्य महामन ।'  
See the same verses in भावपण्डित 57.31-35 and वायु 45. 22-3 (slight variations).

\* मत्स्यपुराण 14. 3-39. 'महास्थानतरे चैत तत्र गोदावरी नदा । पृथिव्यामपि कृत्वाया स प्रदेशो मनोरम ॥ यत्र गवधनो नाम महारो गवधमादन । रामप्रियार्थं स्वर्गिया कृष्ण दिव्यास्तथोपमा ॥ भगवान्नेन मुनिना प्रियार्थमवतारिता । ततो पुण्यवरो देवाग्नेन चतु मनाम ॥

14 under the influence of Mars<sup>1</sup> In the Buddhist story of Bavri, who was the former Purohita of Mahakosla and then of Pasenadi, we are told that a residence was built for Bavri on the Godavari when he wanted to become a recluse Alberuni speaks of Mandagiri on the banks of the Godavari, 60 farsakh (from Alispur it seems)<sup>2</sup> An inscription of the Yadava king, Ramachandra dated Śaka 1193 (1271-72 A D) records a grant of the village of Vadathuri on the northern bank of the Godavari and calls it the ornament of Seunadesa<sup>3</sup> It seems that the territory watered by the Godavari was named सप्तगोदावर<sup>4</sup>

*Krishna*—The Vishnusmṛiti mentions a Tīrtha the Southern Panchanada by which the commentator Nandapanṇita understands the five rivers Krishna, Vepi, Tunga, Bhadra and Kona<sup>5</sup> The Mahabharata speaks of the Krishnavera<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hardy's Manu ed B edhsm p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Alberuni Sacha ) Vol I p 203

<sup>3</sup> I A Vol 14 pp 114-115.

<sup>4</sup> 'सप्तगोदावर' commented upon by काशिरा. According to the Kāshī (Benares) the name of the country referred to by the १ is la सप्तगोदावर It is to be noted that the कवासुखितागर (III 54) refers to the elephants of उदयन sa has not drunk the waters of the seven Godavaris after he crossed the वावेरी and the मुरला 'यस्य सप्तधा भिन्न पुष्पगोदावरीषु । मान्त्रास्तस्य दृष्ट्वा वाग्मस्यैवा मुचक्षिन् ॥' The Mahabharata while dwelling upon the merit to be secured by bathing at various sacred places, comes to सप्तगोदावर after क्षत्रश्रुता 'सप्तगोदावरे स्नात्वा नियतो नियताशन । मदापुण्यमाप्नोति देवताश्च न गच्छति ॥' (वनपर्व Chapter 85 41). In the वायुपुराण (VI 2) सप्तगोदावर is mentioned as तीर्थे 'सप्तगोदावरे चैव गोकुले च तपोवन । अश्वमेधफलं तत्र स्नात्वा न सप्तमे वर ॥' But in the बालराമായण of राजशेखर (Vol III of Florence I and II for 48-72) we are told in the 10th Act that the आर्षा dwell in the seven गोदावरा, then there is वावेरी, and the country of मद्राष्ट्र also described शुश्रूष—(दक्षिणो दरीयन्) देव सप्तगोदावरीनो भीमो भगवन्मर्मा । राम—अवाभास्तव दक्षिणेन तव दम गोदावरीनो गोमां सप्तनामपि वार्त्तापिपातिनां क्षीरान्तराणि मिता ॥ Verse 70

<sup>5</sup> S B E Vol. 4 p. 272.

<sup>6</sup> सभाषर्ग १२०३ भीष्मपर्व ५४

The *Vaṣupurāṇa* and *Bhagavata* mention the rivers *Kṛṣṇa* and *Vena* separately while the *Bṛahma* and the *Matsya* combine them into one is *Kṛṣṇavena*.<sup>1</sup> The *Vena* and *Kṛṣṇa* are mentioned in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.<sup>2</sup> A grant of the Śālistara chief in *Mārasimha* of *Śike 950* (1038-50 A. D.) speaks of the *Kṛṣṇavena* in the *Mārasimha* (modern *Miraj*).<sup>3</sup> The village of *Kaḍaladūmayā* (Kurundwad in the S. M. country) on the confluence of the *Kṛṣṇavena* and *Bharmarā* was granted by the *Yādava* Emperor *Singhana* in *Śike 1135* (1214-15 A. D.).<sup>4</sup> The *Vikramādikāvatīcharita* calls it *Kṛṣṇavena* or *Kṛṣṇavena*.<sup>5</sup>

Among the lesser rivers the *Vena* deserves the first place. *Pargiter* takes the *Kṛṣṇavena* mentioned in the *Vanaparva* (Chap. 83, 37) to be a tributary of the *Vena* (which he identifies with the *Wainganga*) north of *Nagpur*.<sup>6</sup> The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* several times mentions the *Vena* or its banks and it gives us the interesting information that *Vijra* diamonds were found on the banks of the *Vena*.<sup>7</sup> The *Bṛahma* *purāṇa* speaks (in Chap. 77, 3) of the confluence of the *Kṛṣṇa*, *Bharmarā* and *Tungabhadra* as a very holy place conferring *mukta* on mortals.<sup>8</sup> The river *Bharmarā* appears to be the *Bhīma* that falls into the *Kṛṣṇa*.<sup>9</sup> The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* calls it *Bharmarā*.<sup>10</sup> A village called *Alanditirtha* on the southern bank of the *Bharmarā* was granted by the grandson of *Satyasaya* (*Puṣkara* n. 1) see *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. II, pages 111 and *I. A.* Vol. 29, pp. 303-304. The *Harivamśa* (on *Pāṇini* IV. 2. 83) mentions a river

<sup>1</sup> *वायु* Chap. 20, 13 and *मत्स्य* 114, 23. At *मत्स्य* 27, 15 we have *वृष्णवेणा*. The *भागवत* (6. 10) reads *वृष्णवेणदा*.

<sup>2</sup> *Wilson's V. P.* p. 184. The waters of the *वृष्णा* are described to be always salubrious in the *विष्णुसु*.

<sup>3</sup> *Burgess and Bhagani's Caves and Temples*, p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> See *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. 22, p.

<sup>5</sup> See IV. 2. 83 and 71.

<sup>6</sup> *J. R. A. S.* 1896, pp. 23, 24.

<sup>7</sup> *बृहत्संहिता* Chap. 4, 26, 6, 9. *वैश्वदेव* 'वेणवे' विशुद्ध शिरासकुमुभोपम च कीमलकम् ॥

<sup>8</sup> *वृष्णा* भीमरथी चैव तुहभद्रा तु नाद । निम्बणा सहसो यत्र तर्त्तय मुक्तिद वृष्णम् ॥

<sup>9</sup> See *वायुपुराण* Chap. 20, 13 and 27, 15. *वायु* 45, 104. *मत्स्य* 1, 4, 20.

<sup>10</sup> Chap. 26, 1.

**Bhimarathi** The river Bhimarathi and Paunharikapura (Pandharpur) on it are mentioned in a grant of Krishnayaaditya dated Śake 1170 (1249-50 A. D. in this case).<sup>1</sup> A grant of the Rashtrakuta Govinda III, dated Śake 730 (808-09 A. D.) speaks of the village granted, viz., Kuttajunt having as its eastern boundary the river Sinhā.<sup>2</sup> This is the river Sina, a tributary of the Bhima. The river Malaprabha (modern Mahprabha) that falls into the Krishna is mentioned in a Yadava inscription of Śake 1145 (1223-24 A. D.).<sup>3</sup>

The river Varada (modern Wardha in Berar) is said in the *Mahabharata* to have been fixed as the boundary between the kingdoms of Yajñasaena and Madhrasena by Agnimitra, the second Sunga sovereign. The *Nalakhampi* speaks of a country called Varadatala. The river Vainanga in the Central Provinces appears to have been referred to as Benna or Vena. In the Seoni copperplate of the Valabhi Pravarisena II, we have a grant of the village of Brithmaparaka in Benna Karpatabhāga. This district appears to have derived its name from the river Benna which from the situation of the village granted and the place where the plate was found seems to be the Vainanga. In the list of Tirthas in the *Varanavasa* the pilgrims' course is made to run along the Godavari to its junction with the Vena and then northwards to the junction of the Varada with the Venā.<sup>4</sup>

## POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

In the Ahoje inscription of 634 A. D. we are told that there were three Maharashtras.<sup>5</sup> What these three main divisions of Maharashtra were the inscription does not tell us. But it seems that Vidarbha, Maharashtra proper (i.e. the country from Khundesh to Satara) and Kuntala were the three countries intended to be designated as the three Maharashtras. This surmise derives support from the fact that the limits of Maharashtra as discussed above extended from the Narmada to the Krishna. The fact that the *Baharimajana* of Rajasekhara groups the countries together lends further support to this surmise.<sup>6</sup> I have referred above to the notices of Vidarbha in the ancient Vedic literature. Vidarbha was a very powerful and prominent kingdom from ancient

<sup>1</sup> I. A. Vol. 14 p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> See I. A. Vol. VI p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. 12 p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> See *वनपर्व* 85. 31-35.

<sup>5</sup> See I. A. Vol. VIII page 241.

<sup>6</sup> See above p. 640.

tures.<sup>1</sup> The poets of Vidarbha surpassed those of any other part of India, and their style came to be called Vaidarbhi even so early as the 6th Century A.D.<sup>2</sup> We hear the echo of a war between the Magadha Emperors and Vidarbha in the *Maivikagnimutra* of Kalidāsa. Agnimitra, the son of Pushyamitra, the first king of the Śunga dynasty, reigned at Vidisa in the second and third quarters of the second Century B.C. He proposed marriage with Madhika, whose brother Madhavasena had a quarrel with his cousin Yajnasena king of Vidarbha. When Madhavasena was on his way to Vidisa in Malva, Yajnasena's general imprisoned him but his councillor Sumati and sister Malvika escaped. Agnimitra demanded the release of Madhavasena but Yajnasena agreed to do so only on condition that his wife's brother, (styled Muryasachara in the drama) kept in imprisonment by Agnimitra, be released. Agnimitra vanquished Yajnasena and Vidarbha was divided between Madhavasena and Yajnasena.

<sup>1</sup> The महाभारत mentions the विदर्भ among fighters in the great war (occurs in the list of countries in the भीमपर्व (१.६५). In the दान्तिवद (२१.३) we are told that विदर्भ was a very religious nation 'राष्ट्रं धर्मोत्तरे श्रेष्ठं विदर्भेष्वभवद् दिगम् ।' In the मत्स्यपुराण Chap. 41 we learn that king Jyāmagha had a wife Chetā from whom was born विदर्भ, whose sons were कथ, वैशिक and लोमपाद (१.५१). वैशिक had a son चेदि from whom the चैद्य kings took their name (१.५१). In the मागवतपुराण (१.५५) we read that विदर्भ had three sons कुरु, कथ and लोमपाद, the 5th in descent from the latter being चेदि. In the विष्णुपुराण (Wilson Vol. 4 p. 67 ff.) we are told that विदर्भ had three sons कथ, वैशिक and लोमपाद, कथ was the ancestor of the भोज्य, वैशिक was the father of चेदि, the progenitor of the चैद्य kings. In the हरिवंश (Langkai Vol. I p. 165) विदर्भ is similarly made father of कथ, वैशिक and लोमपाद, but it makes चेदि the son of a second वैशिक, great grandson of लोमपाद. In the Vedābhyaśataka (Cowell's Jātaka, Vol. I p. 122) a charm called Vedābhyaśa is said to have been known to a Brahmin whose pupil the वेधिसत्त्व was. Both are said to have come to the country of Cheti (चेदि ?) and met with two robbers. Kalidāsa uses the word कथवैशिक (खुवश 5. 39. 81 and 7. 20) for the people of विदर्भ. From Kalidāsa's description it appears that the नमदा had to be crossed while going from उत्तरकोसल to the capital of विदर्भ (which was कुण्डिन according to खु 7. 33).

<sup>2</sup> काल्यदत्त 1. 40. अस्त्वनेहो गिरां मार्गं सूक्ष्मभेद परस्परम् । तथ विदर्भगीटायो वप्येन प्ररकुण्ठितौ ॥

the Varada (modern Vardha river) being the boundary between the two kingdoms. The Dāśakūmaracharita (VIII Uchhhvaya) mentions six feudatory kingdoms of Vidarbha viz., Āmrika, Kuntala, Murah, Richhika, Kōnkana and Sisikya (Is it Nasik?). The Bhajas ruled in Vidarbha (Raghuvamśa V, 79-80 and Dāśakūmaracharita VIII). Even the Mahābhārata tells us that Bhishma's king of the Bhajas in Bhajikata and called Lord of Dakshinaty is submitted to Jarasandha.<sup>1</sup> The Bharhut Stupa has an inscription commemorating a donation from a nun of Bhajikataka.<sup>2</sup> The Bhajikata kingdom is mentioned in the Chumuk copper plate of the Vākaṭka Mahārāja Pravarasena II.<sup>3</sup> Thus we see that from very ancient times Vidarbha (modern Betar and the country beyond it on almost all

form part of Maharashtra.

The country of Kuntala was also well known from very ancient times. Its exact boundaries are a matter of great difficulty. Dr Burgess says that "Kuntala stretched from the Narmada in the north to somewhere about Tungabhadra (or further) in the south, having the Arabian Sea for its border on the west and reaching the Godavari and the Eastern Ghats on the north-east and south-east. But these boundaries are much too exaggerated as they would make Kuntala embrace the whole of the peninsula except the southernmost part of it and would leave no room for Maharashtra or would make

<sup>1</sup> See समापर्व 14. 32. "अनुयवाङ्महाराजो भोज इन्द्रसखो बली । विद्या बलाद्यो व्यजयन् सपाण्ड्यकर्षाशिकान् । आता यस्याहति शरा जामदग्न्यसमोऽभवत् । स यक्तो मागध राजा भयम् परवीरहा ।" समापर्व (Chap. 3-63) shows us how सहदेव came in his career of conquest to भाष्मक कन्य of भोजकट.

<sup>2</sup> Bharhut Stupa (Cannanphur) p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> V. V. Smith identifies भाजकट with the place called near Lelapur J. R. A. S. 1914 p. 330.

<sup>4</sup> Cor. I Vol. III p. 235.

The modern name Varhadra seems to connect itself with the data. In the Nala champu of त्रिविक्रमचंद्र we read "वीरपुरुष वरदाहरदातनामक महाराष्ट्र । दक्षिण मरुस्वती सा वदति विदर्भा नदी यत्र ॥" 646. It is possible that the word महाराष्ट्र is used here as the name of a country and then the position etc. would be that that part of महाराष्ट्र called वरदातना is a land of heroes.

<sup>5</sup> A. S. W. J. Vol. III p. 73.



the latter its sub-division. But we have seen that Maharashtra was a separate country from at least the 5th Century A. D., and that Badām was its capital in the 7th Century. In my opinion, Kuntala may be roughly described as the country from the Blima and Kpishoa to some distance beyond the Tungabhadra and included Kolhapur and the other Southern Mahratta States such as Miraj, Belgaum and Dhurwar districts, a portion of the Nizam's dominions and of the Mysore State and North Canara. It will be seen from the quotations given below that the modern districts of Belgaum and Dhurwar were the heart of Kuntala. Mr Rice defines Kuntala as the country between the Blima and the Vedavati, bounded on the west by the Ghats and including the Shimoga and Chitaldurg districts of Mysore, Bellary, Dhurwar and Bijapur and certain tracts in the Nizam's dominions.<sup>1</sup> According to Dr Fleet Kuntala included Kanavasi in North Canara, Belgaum and Harihar in Mysore, Hampi or Vijayanagar in the Bellary district, to the north of these places Hangal, Lakshmeshwar, Lakhundi, Gadag in Dhurwar, further to the north Belgaum, Srundatti, Nanoli, Konnur in the Belgaum district, Pajadikni, and Ahioli in Bijapur and still more to the North Terdaia in the Sangli State. Bijapur itself and Kalyani (see Bom G., Vol. I, part 2, p. 431). When the Vakatakas, the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and the Yadavas were at the height of their power, Kuntala formed part of their dominions and so came under Maharashtra.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Myrora and Coorg from the inscription, p. 3 (1903) quoted in J. R. A. S. (1911) p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> In the महाभारत, कुन्तला are termed to मय्यप्य १५०. One of the most places at Ajanta recites that the वाकाटक king पृथिवीषेण, son of रुद्रसेन, conquered कुन्तल and that another वाकाटक king हरिषेण conquered कुन्तल, अवन्ति, कलिङ्ग, कोसल, त्रिफल, छोट and आम (Murgues and Bhagwanlal's cave temples p. 70 J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII p. 57; A. S. W. L. IV, p. 124 J. R. A. S. 94 pp. 344-357). The वामसूत्र of वात्स्यायन (Chap. 3, p. 131) refers to a कुन्तलशतकाय 'कतया कुन्तल शतकाय शानबाहना महादेवी मलयवती (जपान)'. We have seen above that according to the दशकुमारचरित कुन्तल was under the king of विदर्भ. The Yewur inscription of the चातुर्वर्षिकमाहिस्य or त्रिभुवनमह dated Saka 609 (A. D. 777) tells us that through कुन्तल the flowed कृष्णवेणी 'विख्यातकृष्णवेणीतरनेहोयम्भसरस्व । कुन्तलविषयो नितरा विराजते महिष्मोद ॥' मयूरवर्मा mentioned as the best of the कदम्ब king of Kanavasi said to have brought 8 माहिष् from Mahishatra and established them in कुन्तल, ३३६



Asmaka chief is spoken of as a neighbour of Vidarbha and as fighting with the King of the latter on the Narmada.<sup>1</sup> From Bhamah's work on rhetoric we learn that a poem called *Asmakavyasa* was claimed to have been composed in the Vidarbha style.<sup>2</sup> In the *Brhatsamhita*, Asmaka is mentioned several times, sometimes along with Tripura or Vidarbha.<sup>3</sup> From all these data, we come to the conclusion that from the centuries preceding the Christian era up to the 6th century A. D. at all events the country from Khandesh up to the Godavari was called Asmaka probably had Paithan as its capital and included Ajanta in it.<sup>4</sup> We shall see later on that the Andhrabhrityas or Satavhanas, whose capital was originally at Dharmajaka (Dharmakotta or Aniravati on the Krishna) found it necessary to have a capital at Paithan in the west in order to be better able to stem the rising tide of Kshatrapa aggression.

The same country or at least a large portion of it came to be called Seunadesa in later times under the Yadavas. A Yadava chief named Seunachandra son of Dhillaprahara and grandson of Subahu is said to have given his name to this country and founded the city of Seunapura in Sindinera<sup>5</sup> (modern Sinnar in the Nashik district) in a grant, dated Śaka 991 (1069-70 A. D.) In inscription of the Yadava Rana

‘सर्वा नयज्ञस्य वसन्तभानोरदमकेन्द्रस्य हस्ते राज्यमिदं (विदर्भ-  
राज्यम्) पतितम् ।’ and then ‘अथ वसन्तभानुर्भानुर्माण नाम वान-  
रास्यं प्रोत्साहानन्तवर्मणा व्यग्राहयत् । .सर्वसामन्तेभ्यश्चादमकेन्द्रं प्रागु-  
पेयास्यं प्रियतरोऽभूत् । अपरोऽपि सामन्ता समगसत् । गत्वा चाम्बर्णे  
गर्मदारोवसि न्यविशन् । तस्मिन्वापसरे महासामन्तस्य कुन्तलपतेरवन्ति-  
देनस्य . .अदमकेन्द्रस्तु कुन्तलपतिमेकान्ते समभ्यवत् । . . तदाग-  
मभूय मुरलेश वीरसेनमृचाकेशमेकवीर कौकणपति कुमारगुप्त सासि-  
क्यनाथ च नागपालमुपजपाय ।’

‘ननु चादमकनशादि वैदर्भमिति कथ्यते । काम तारास्तु प्रायेण  
सङ्गृह्यतो विधीयते ॥’ भासह १३।

\* Chap. ११ (विपुल) १११ (विदर्भ)

Dr. Phagwara's edition of *Dr. A. N. S. Khandeshi's* *Vol. 16, pp. 18-19.*

1. A. N. S. p. 19. It does not bear the name of Sind, and it is the capital of the Khandeshi of the 11th and 12th c. A. D. in the case of the A. N. S. p. 19. 12. 12.

chandra dated Saka 1193 (1771-72 A. D.) records a grant of the village of Vadasthana on the northern bank of the Godavari and calls it the monument of Seunades<sup>1</sup>. In the Vratakhanda of Hemadri, we are told that Deogiri was situated in Seunades<sup>2</sup> and that the latter was on the confines of Dilakranya<sup>3</sup>. The Prataparudra Vasobhūshana speaks of the Yadava kings of Seunades<sup>4</sup>. The Kakatiya king Prataparudra (1295-1313 A. D.) is said to have vanquished the Yadava king of Sevala, that had crossed the Gautami river (Godavari). From this it appears that Seunades<sup>5</sup> extended from the Godavari northwards to Degiri (modern Daulatabad)<sup>6</sup>.

Before proceeding further, it is better to say a few words on the terms used to denote the divisions and sub-divisions of a country in our authorities. The commonest or most usual term for a country is *Desa* as in Seunades<sup>7</sup>. Another generic term for a country met with in the Purāṇas and other Sanskrit works (like the Daśakumara-charita) is Janapada<sup>8</sup>. The Amarakosa gives *Desa*, Janapada and Visthaya as synonyms<sup>9</sup>. It must be said at the outset that

<sup>1</sup> I. A. Vol. 12 pp. 315. Between Seunachandra and Bhāhama III, one king intervened.

<sup>2</sup> See G. V. I. part pp. 251 and 312. At page 251 it is suggested that the name मेउणदेश is preserved in the modern Khandesh between which it is said there is a close resemblance. One fails to see how मेउण came to be converted into खाने. Is it possible that Khandesh was so named after the king Kanha Gādhavāhana (See Bank Inscription No. 29) or better still after Kanhara Yada a of Deogiri (see J. B. R. I. S. Vol. IX p. 246 for a grant of his). It may be that the country came to be so called on account of its dark soil (कुण्डरेण changed into कुण्डरेण from which Khandesh is a very corruption).

<sup>3</sup> “रे रे सेवण कस्तनायमनिदपूर्वोय गयो महानुत्तीर्णा फिट येन गौतमनदी प्राप्नोसि मृत्योर्मुक्त्वम् । एषा काकतिव्रीरद इति किं ना-  
श्रापि सप्ताक्षरी प्रशुभ्यप्रतिपक्षपार्थिवमहाभूतप्रहोचाटनी”॥ रसप्रकरण  
p. 146 of the Balamānorama series. ‘राज्ञो यादवशपार्थिवमणे प्रह्यातशौर्य-  
श्रियसन्द्भगत्तुद्भगत्तुद्भगसेन्यमहतो मानैकचित्तस्य च । सद्यो रुद्रनरेन्द्रनाय-  
कचमूनायेन केनाप्यधिकिष्टस्याचरितानि सेवणपतेर्जनाति सा गौतमी ॥’  
अन्धकारप्रकरण p. 16 in our temple inscriptions. ‘प्राप्तवणा सेवणा’

p. 133

<sup>4</sup> See the text in I. A. Vol. IX p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> See I. A. वायुपुराण, Ch. 11. 99 म. स्थ. 1. 41. मत्स्यपुराण 47. 34.

<sup>6</sup> वायुपुराण 47. 34. मत्स्यपुराण 47. 34.

ancient usage is not uniform in the employment of terms denoting a country and its sub-divisions. I shall try to give what appears to be the general usage about each term and note the exceptions if any.<sup>1</sup> In doing so I shall illustrate my remarks by naming most of the known sub-divisions of Maharashtra.

In epigraphic records we often come across the words 'Rashtrapati' (ruler of a province), 'Vishayapati' (lord of a district) and 'Gramahūja' (head of a village).<sup>2</sup> From the order in which the terms occur it is clear that Rashtra is a division larger than Vishaya.<sup>3</sup> In the inscriptions of Southern India we meet with the terms Manjilam, Valu and Ur (township) which correspond to Rashtra, Vishaya and Grama. The word Manjila is often employed in the same sense as Des or Rashtra, e.g., in Mahashimundakā (for which, see above p. 62). But the Sahyadrikhandī that hangs loosely on to the Śāhāpurāṇa says that a Desa comprises 100 villages, that a Manjila is equal to four Desas and that a Khandā comprehends a hundred Manjilas.<sup>4</sup> At all events Manjila was larger in extent than Vishaya or Bhukti.<sup>5</sup> The term Desa though generally applied to such large tracts as Maharaṭra, Karnāṭaka is sometimes used for small ones. For example in a grant found at Goa, dated Śaka 532 (610-11 A.D.) the district of

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Fleet's note on these terms for political divisions in Corpus I, vol. III, pt. 2, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See I. A. vol. VIII, p. 20 (grant of चातुर्वय त्रिभुवनमहर्षेय, dated Śaka 972, i.e. 1055-56 A.D.) and I. A. 12, pp. 244, 252 (grant of राष्ट्रवृत्त शशिदेव, dated Śaka 853, i.e. 935-36 A.D.).

<sup>3</sup> The term राष्ट्र seems to have sometimes been applied to territories that could not have been very large. For example राष्ट्र, the present Nand District (to which see above). But in a grant गोपराष्ट्र itself is termed a विषय (I. A. R. A. S. II, p. 12). The Māhāpurāṇa (about 230 A.D.) mentions countries called Nukumbhāṭṭham and Vāṭāratāṭṭha (S. B. E. vol. 15, p. 43). The latter cannot be identified. The former was probably Khandesh. We have userpents of a Nukumbhāṭṭha that began to reign in Khandesh about 600 A.D. See I. A. vol. VIII, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> 'शतमासो भवेत्तस्य देशस्यत्वारि मण्डलम् । शतमण्डल भवेत्तस्य नवमण्डल च मेदिनी' ॥ सप्तमण्डल (Ed. Gerson de Cunha) उत्तरायण Chap. 4. The सप्तमण्डल (as it must be admitted a very late work and is a lot of much rubbish in so many questions of ancient History and Geography). From the Cambay plate of A. D. 994, we see that मण्डल was a subdivision of Desa (I. A. vol. VII, p. 4). 'सातदशमेव मण्डलान्तर्गत-कारिकामहास्थानविनिर्गताय'.

<sup>5</sup> I. A. vol. 15, p. 107 where Panakagranta is the name of a village belonging to the Vāṭāratāṭṭha in 'शिवलीमण्डल' is referred to.

khed dera (used in the Kolhapur district) is termed <sup>1</sup> 'Desa'. Similarly we have the term *Desa* applied to the tract about Miraj or Muraj (modern Miraj) and Bhuik (modern Belgaum and Belgaon).<sup>2</sup> We have seen also that Vishaya is a division less than a *Mandala* and it seems that it was less than a *Desa*.<sup>3</sup> The term *Vishaya* is however, often applied to such large tracts as the Konkana.<sup>4</sup> We find the terms *Desa* and *Vishaya* indiscriminately applied to the same tract of country.<sup>5</sup> *Vishaya* seems to have been a larger division than *Mandala* and *Pitha* or *Pithika*.<sup>6</sup> The exact relationship between *Vishaya* and *Bhukti* is not quite clear. *Bhukti* is certainly less than a *Mandala*.<sup>7</sup> In some places it seems that *Bhukti* was larger than *Vishaya*.<sup>8</sup> Whatever the relationship may be there are in history's that *Pitha* was comparatively a small division. In the Samangad grant of Rishabhdeva Dandaditya, dated Śaka 675 (753-54 A. D.) we meet with Koppira as a *Bhukti*.<sup>9</sup> In the Puthin plates of A. D. 711 we read of a grant by the Rishabhdeva

<sup>1</sup> J. B. R. L. V. I. 10 pp. 304-305.

<sup>2</sup> See J. B. R. L. V. Vol. VIII p. 1 (grant of the Śaka era Mahamangalavaras (Sagar) dated Śaka 1112 = 1190 A. D.) & *विश्वदेव*, I. A. Vol. IX pp. 15 & 16 (Chauth grant of *विश्वदेव* II dated Śaka 1112 = 1190 A. D.).

<sup>3</sup> A grant of राष्ट्रकूट गोरक्ष III dated Śaka 1030 has 'गणेशदेवावदनगरविषया नगरी. भद्रप्रसाद.' (I. A. V. I. 11 p. 15) & 16.

<sup>4</sup> See I. A. V. 13 pp. 43-44 a grant of the राष्ट्रकूट अशोकावधूत, dated Śaka 1012 = 1090 A. D. and I. A. XI p. 203 for a quotation from the गणेशदेवावदनगर in Pratih (वृष्णविषय, &c.).

<sup>5</sup> We have a *khata* taken of a *khata* (See Burgess and Bhargava's Cave Temples, p. 102) which we had वृष्णदेव also above.

<sup>6</sup> See J. B. R. L. V. I. 16 pp. 1-3 where in the Naga grant we read 'ठावरिवाविषयान्तर्गतवणवलाहारविषये'.

<sup>7</sup> I. A. Vol. XV p. 140 speaks of a 'ठिपरिवायाम' in the प्रतिष्ठानभुक्ति and attached to the वासीपारमपर which belonged to the 'वासीपारमपर'.

<sup>8</sup> See I. A. V. 13 p. 207 quoted above.

<sup>9</sup> See Cor. I. III p. 207 the Des Bhavata Inscription of 1112, p. 11 where we have वासीपारमपर in नगरभुक्ति. See I. A. V. I. 11 p. 97 where the King's grant of Vagharajadevi III records a grant of some land in the Varanashya in the Des Bhavata (Bhukti) the King's grant of the year 1112 in the same year (p. 207) & 208 a grant of the village of Medha in the Kailashaya of the Des Bhavata (Bhukti).

<sup>10</sup> I. A. XI 108.

king Govinda III of a village named Limburamikhā in the Śīraka-chappa twelve in Pratihāna bhukti (I 1, Vol III, p 103) As the Godwari is one of the boundaries of the village granted Pratihāna-bhukti here means the district round Pathra In the Riddhapur grant of Rashtrakuta Govind III of Śāle 710 (807 A D in this case) we read of a Rasiyana-bhukti <sup>1</sup> (Modern Rasin in the Ahmednagar district) The word Bhoga (derived from the same root as Bhukti) was employed to denote a territorial division The Satara copper plate of Vishnuvardhana I (the founder of the eastern Chalukyas) registers a grant of the village of Alindanurtha in the Śrānḍyabhoga on the north of the Agrahara of Anopala and on the south bank of the river Bhimarathi (I 4, Vol 19, pp 303, 304) Dr Fleet identifies Alindanurtha with Alundh, five miles north-east of Bhior and not with Alundi in the Poona district which is on the north bank of the Indrayani An Ahara as a sub-division was less than a Vishaya as we have seen and larger than a Pathaka A grant of Śāliditya VII dated in 447 of the Gupta valabhī era (i e 766-67 A D) speaks of a village Mahilabali in Uppalahetipathaka in Śrīkhetakahara (modern Kaira district in Gujrat) <sup>2</sup> Besides the abovementioned Khetakahara in Gujrat we find the following Aharas viz Govardhana <sup>3</sup> (modern Nasik district), Kapura <sup>4</sup> (probably on the sea coast in Konkan), Soparika <sup>5</sup> (modern Sopara near Bombay), Mūmā <sup>6</sup> (modern Maval in the Poona district), Khetra (modern Khet in the Ratnagiri district) It will have been noticed that many of these divisions termed Ahara go so back as the first century of the Christian era Patha or Pathaka was less than Vishaya and Ahara We come across a Pathanapatha <sup>7</sup> (modern Pathra) a hapakapathaka in Surashtra <sup>8</sup> (modern Kathiawar) a Kshipapathaka in Varanavishaya <sup>9</sup> and Uppalhetipathaka <sup>10</sup> in the Kura district Sthal seems to have been a division

<sup>1</sup> I A. VI 92

<sup>2</sup> See Cor I III p 174

<sup>3</sup> Nasik inscriptions No 1 Bom C Vol. 6 p 257

<sup>4</sup> Nasik Inscriptions No 12 Bom C Vol VI 46 p 52

<sup>5</sup> A. S. W. I Vol. V p 26 (Kharhor Inscriptions No. 3)

<sup>6</sup> In an inscription at Karori dated in the 5th year of the Jihputra era for which see J. B. R. A. S. V. p. 44 No. 18 p. 462

<sup>7</sup> See J. B. R. A. S. V. I. p. 75—grant of the village of Kurelka by the ruler of Pevatishp. dated Śaka 537 (610-11 A.D.)

<sup>8</sup> Kharhor Inscriptions No. 3 A. S. W. I. V. p. 26

<sup>9</sup> I. A. Vol. VI p. 15 (grant of भुवनेश्वर II of Valabhi dated in वर्षभिमवत् 10 i.e. 613 A.D.) J. B. R. A. S. V. I. p. 79 (grant of धरसेन III of वर्धमि era 526 i.e. 645 A.D.)

<sup>10</sup> I. A. Vol. VI p. 105

See above

larger than Peshwa.<sup>1</sup> In the Khoh copper plate of Mahārāja Samkshobha of the Gupta era 209 (552-29 A.D.) we meet with a *Mināpṭa pṣha*. *Pṣha* seems to have been a term for a division of a country. A copper plate of Mahārāja Harin of the Gupta year 163 (482-83 A.D.) records a grant of *Korpankigrahara* in 'Līṭapṣha'.<sup>2</sup> *Santaka* seems to have been another territorial subdivision.<sup>3</sup> *Bhāga* as a term for a territorial division occurs in the Seoni copper plate of the Vakṣaṭka Mahārāja Pravarasena II, where we read of a *Vennāk r paribhāga*<sup>4</sup> (which must have been near modern Fitchpur). *Kampina*<sup>5</sup> (sometimes written as *Crampina*) as a term for a division occurs very frequently. We read of a *Kundurige Kampina* which formed part of the *Kūṇḍi* zone. A grant of the Kadamba Jayakesin I of Goa speaks of a *Kampina* called *Kalugin*.<sup>6</sup> A copperplate of the Śilīhara Bhūj of Pāṇḍya dated Śaka 1013 (1191-92 A.D.) records a grant in the village of *Kaseli* in the *Vijayekampina*.<sup>7</sup> (*Aṣṭavaram* in the Ranniger district). We find a *Mirajekampina* 700 while the *Mirajadesa* is also described as a 7000 province.<sup>8</sup>

In the epigraphic records we come across certain numbers that are always affixed to certain territorial divisions e.g. *Rājiprāṣi* 7½ lakhs, *Gangavāḥi* 1,146,000, *Solankishih* 37,000, *Kavachidīpti* 12,500, *Banavasi* 12,000, *Turigise* 6,000, *Karahūṇa* 4,000, *Kūṇḍi* 3,000, *Miraj* 3,000, *Konkan* 1,400 (Northern Konkan), *Tardavāḥi* 1,000, *Konkan* 1,000 (Southern Konkan near Goa) &c. The significance of these numbers we have discussed above. What is worth of note is that these large round numbers are rarely affixed after territorial divisions of the northern portion of Maharashtra, i.e., the territory from the Narmada to the Godavari and a little beyond the latter. It is not easy to offer a satisfactory explanation. This difference may be due to the fact that the southern portion of Maharashtra was closely connected with Southern India where these divisions with round numbers abound. In

<sup>1</sup> See I. A. 15 p. 127 where is recorded a grant of the village of *Vetagrama* in the *Dhanakapetha* and in the *Dhivakṣāntasthali* by *वरेसेन* II dated 572 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Cor. I III p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> Cor. I III p. 109, 107.

<sup>4</sup> We read of a *Nagadevason* also in the *Kāntalal* grant of Mahārāja Jayan, ha dated 491-92 A.D. Cor. I III p. 117, 118.

<sup>5</sup> Cor. I III p. 241, 246.

<sup>6</sup> J. R. R. I. A. S. X p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> J. B. R. R. A. S. IX pp. 2-20 grant dated in अतोवर्षे 4200.

<sup>8</sup> See the report of the भारत इतिहास समीक्षक मण्डल for Śaka 818 pp. 220, 225.

<sup>9</sup> Bon. C. Vol. I part 2 p. 45. See I. A. Vol. 16 p. 145 which records a grant by the Chāḍa Vraja to a *śāh* of Italy approx. 1000. The name of the *śāh* is the *W. nec. of anpana*.



illustrating the various terms used for territorial divisions, I have gone over most of the subdivisions, both large and small of Maharashtra. But two or three of them deserve more than a passing notice. First comes Kuntl which was a 3000 province. It included almost the whole of the modern Belgaum district a portion of the Kolhapur territory and of the Sangli State and of Dharwar.<sup>1</sup>

Next comes the Mirinja country. It was also a 3000 province. It was variously spelt as Mirinja, Mairinja and Mirinjā. It included the modern Miraj, Kurundwad and a portion of the Bijapur district<sup>2</sup> and may have included a portion of the southern part of Konkan just below the Ghats. The Mahamandaleswari Silīlīra Gandaraditya is said to have reigned over the Mirinja Deśa together with Konkan and the seven Kholis (valleys).<sup>3</sup> Even Mirinja Nagara is referred to.<sup>4</sup> Karahataka (modern Karhad) was a 4000 province. It may have covered the whole of the modern Satara district and a portion of Bhor and Phaltan States.<sup>5</sup> About the antiquity of Karahataka we shall speak later on. A Pratyandaka 4000 province is mentioned in the Tidgundi plate of 1082 A. D. the ruler of which was the Sinda chief Munjarajadeva (C. I., Vol. III p. 310). Dr. Fleet identifies this province with modern Phaltan (I. A. Vol. 30, pp. 380-81).

### GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

In these days we often hear it said that the form of Government in ancient India was a limited monarchy or that it was popular and democratic in spirit and not despotic. On the other hand there are

<sup>1</sup> See I. A. 14, pp. 21-25 where Kuntl is said to be a 3000 province and to have included Tendla (modern Tendla in Sangli State) I. A. Vol. 6, p. 13 where the Alataga pao (modern Alcip in the Kolhapur State) is said to have formed part of the Kuntl province. In I. A., Vol. 22, p. 278, Dr. Fleet gives an interesting note on the Kuntl country. His conclusions are that the Kuntl 3000 province was only a part of a much larger territory known by the name of Kuntl and that Kuntl 3000 of the Rattas was probably bounded on the north by the Krishna and Dudhganga, on the west by a line which left the Dudhganga close on the west of Bhor and ran irregularly southward, on the west of N. pal and Bankedwar and the east of Horese. These boundaries stretch rather too far and would not leave sufficient room for Mirinja and Karahataka.

<sup>2</sup> J. R. B. R. A. S. Vol. XII p. 7 for Kurundwad being a part of Mirinja Deśa.

<sup>3</sup> J. R. B. R. A. S. Vol. XIII p. 1. See I. A. Vol. 24, p. 300 for Dr. Fleet's note on Mirinja Deśa.

<sup>4</sup> Burgess and Bhagwanlal's Cave Temples, pp. 102, 104.

<sup>5</sup> I. A., Vol. 20, p. 378. Dr. Fleet admits that the bounds on Karahataka can be indicated only partially. According to him, no portion of the Karahataka district can be indicated beyond the Krishna. On the north of it was the Pratyandaka 4000 province. To the east was Tendla 4000 (Tidgundi) and to the south bank of the Krishna lies northernmost of our Report.

Western writers who say<sup>1</sup> the great Empires of the East were in the main tax-collecting institutions. They exercise coercive force on their subjects of the most violent kind for certain purposes and at certain times, but they do not impose laws or districts from particular and occasional commands. Nor do they judicially administer and enforce customary laws.<sup>2</sup> In my humble opinion neither the enthusiastic but exaggerated encomiums of the former, nor the biased and sweeping condemnation of the latter represents the truth about the ancient empires of India. In the following pages an endeavour will be made to convey a fair estimate of the state of government in ancient India.

Before proceeding further it will be necessary to make certain preliminary remarks. Ancient Indian writers had clear notions as to what constitute the essential elements of a state and their respective importance. The *Arthashastra* of Kautilya lays down that there are seven elements of the state, viz. the ruler, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend.<sup>3</sup> The *Manusmriti* inserts 'the capital' before the country and omits 'the fort' and says that each preceding is more important than each succeeding one.<sup>4</sup> Thus we shall see the ruler was regarded as the most important element of the state. The King is consequently glorified as a veritable deity and an archy is condemned in the strongest terms in such works as the *Manusmriti* to the *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>5</sup> The latter work contains one of the most graphic descriptions of the evils of anarchy.<sup>6</sup> But in spite of the fact that the office of the ruler was looked upon with the greatest veneration, Sanskrit writers did not evolve the theory that the king could do just as he pleased. In the Sanskrit writings we hear very little of the rights and privileges of kings, but the whole emphasis is laid on their duties. Instead of the favourite clamour of the Americans that taxation and representation go hand in hand

<sup>1</sup> See T. H. Green's *Lectures on the principles of Political Obligation* quoted in Prof. Aiyangar's *Ancient Indian Pol.* 3. 1. 39.

<sup>2</sup> 'स्वाम्यमास्त्यगपददुग्धोददण्डमिनाणि प्रहृत्य ।' शर्मस्त्याग्य अधि० ८. पृ. 255.

• स्वाम्यमास्त्यो पुरंराष्ट्रं वासिदण्डो मुहृत्तथा । सप्त प्रकृतयो क्षेमा सप्ताय स्वाम्यमुच्यते ॥  
सप्तानां प्रहृतीनां तु राज्यस्यासौ यथाक्रमम् । पूर्वपूर्वं गुप्तरं जानीयादयमन महत् ॥  
मनु० ७. २०४-७५

• 'इन्द्रविलयमारीणमग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च । उद्रविक्षेक्षश्चैव माया निद्रस्य  
शाश्वती ॥ यस्मादेषा सुरेन्द्राणां मानाभ्यो निमित्तो भूय । तस्माद्भित्तवेष सवभूतानि  
तेनमा ॥' मनु० ७. १५५

• अयोध्याकाण्ड अ० 57

Indian writers say that taxation and protection of the people go hand in hand. The ideal king is he who taxes the people for their welfare, who maintains the rules of the *Varnas* and *Āśramas* and who affords protection to his subjects. This is the goal of kingship prescribed not only by altruistic philosophers and poets<sup>2</sup> but even by practical politicians like Kautilya trained in the hard school of intrigue and bloodshed<sup>3</sup>. In one place Kautilya says 'the welfare of the king lies in the welfare of his subjects, his happiness is the happiness of his subjects'. These words remind us of the famous proclamation of the late Queen Victoria which breathes the same sentiment in the words 'in their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward'.

According to the theory of ancient Sanskrit writers on political administration the king was the head of the Government. He was to be assisted by a council of high ministers whose number varied from eight to twenty<sup>4</sup>. He was to convene a meeting of his councillors when any important business arose and was to act on the advice of the majority. The *Sūkrantī*<sup>5</sup> lays down that the king's council should consist of ten ministers and describes their functions. These ten ministers were — Purodhas (the priest) Pratinidhi (vicerent) Pradhana (Premier) Sachiva (Commander) Mantri (Councillor), Pradivaka (Chief Justice) Pinhita (Scholar) Samantā, Amatya and Duta (Spy). We are informed by the *Sūkrantī* that according to some, the king's council should consist of eight ministers only, omitting the Purodhas (priest) and the Duta. The functions of these ministers were as follows:— 'The Pratinidhi is he who knows what is to be done and what is not to be done. The Pradhana is he who has an eye on all things. The Sachiva is the man who knows

\* Kautilya says 'प्रज्ञानमेव भूत्यर्थं स राज्ञो बलिप्रदाहन्' रण० १. १४ अथममुदाज्ञान भवेत्तस्य तु भूयत । यो हरेष्टलिषट्मान न च रक्षति पुत्रवत् ॥ रामायण अरण्यकाण्ड ६. ११

\* 'प्रज्ञागुणे गुणं राज्ञः प्रज्ञानां चक्षितं द्वितम् । आत्मापि हि स राज्ञः प्रज्ञानां तु द्विचक्षितम् ॥' अर्थशास्त्र अधि १. २. २०

\* Kautilya's Artha Śāstra p. २७ 'मन्त्रिपरिषद् द्वादशमायान् कुर्यात्तानि मानवा । पात्रेणैव वार्हस्पत्या । विद्यमानिषद्दत्तता । यथासामर्थ्यमिति वीजिन्य । आत्ययिके कार्ये दीनानो मन्त्रिपरिषद् चान्य मूषात् । तत्र वद्विषा कायमिद्विवर वा मृत्युस्तुत्योः ।'

<sup>2</sup> S. B. H. Vol. VII p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> S. B. H. Vol. VIII (Ch. 1) p. 74.

all about the army. The *Mantri* is one who is an adept in diplomacy. The *Panthis* is the person who is well up in the theory of religion and morals. The *Pravivika* is he who has knowledge of men, *Sastris* and morals. The *Amatya* is known to be the person who has knowledge of lands and records. The *Samantra* is he who knows of the incomes and disbursements.\*

Passing over the members of the king's council and coming to the gradation of officers, we see that according to the *Smritis* the village was the lowest unit of administration and the headman of the village the lowest officer. The *Manusmriti* says that the king should appoint officers for each village for ten villages for twenty one hundred and a thousand villages and that the headman of the village was to submit reports about his village to the head of ten villages and so on.† We learn from the *Sulvasita* that an average village was a *Krodh* in area and yielded a revenue of a thousand silver *Karsahas*.‡ The person appointed over ten villages was called a *Nyaka*, the ruler of 100 villages was called a *Samanta* and one who governed 1000 villages was called *Akshita* or *Sirata*.§ The *Sulvasita* specifies another method of distinguishing the several titles of rulers of smaller or larger areas. A *Samanta* is one whose yearly revenue is from one to three lakh *Karsahas*, a *Mandalika* between three to ten lakh *Karsahas*, a *Raja* between ten to twenty lakh *Karsahas*, a *Maharaja* between twenty to fifty lakhs, a *Sirata* §

\* धर्मयधिपति द्याइशामपति तथा । विज्ञानी मतम च सहस्रपतिवै च ॥  
धर्मोपायं समुत्पन्नमामिव शनै रवयम् । ज्ञेयं धामदेशज्ञाय दमशो विनीतिनि ॥  
विदानीशस्तु तमैव ज्ञानज्ञाय निवैयम् । ज्ञमद् धामशतशस्तु सहस्रपत्ये भवयम् ॥ मनु  
7.10.9-17

\* परमादीश्वर n h comment n आर्षमन्त्र, दक्षयतिवामन्त्र (Dr hemsted) 1.6.1831  
‘उक्तं च तत्परिमाणं तन्वा नटे । यथादेरदंभुग्मष्टमर्यह्वोगुनै पद्गुणैश्चतुभि ।  
हसिश्चतुर्भिर्भवोद् दण्डं प्राश सहस्रदितयन नेषाम् ॥’ According to the *काश*  
as a means of 1 an cubit is two दण्ड, i.e. 8000 cubits, so the area of 1 village would be  
(8000x8000) 64,000,000 square cubits i.e. about 15,000,000 square yards, i.e. 35 sq mtrs  
(square). But according to the *शुक्लीति*, कोश 17,500 cubits of *मज्जापति* be 110000  
and 400 cubits (मनु) be followed and the area of a कोश would be two crore and a  
half cubits with the *मज्जापति* reckoning. S.B.H. Vol VIII p 35

\* A *Kardha* was equal to eighty *Rats* or less than a *Tola* which equals to 66 *Rats*. So 1,000 *Karsahas* would be equal to 833 *Ropees*.

\* S.B.H. Vol VIII (S. K. n. 7) p. 35.

income is between fifty lakhs and 1 crore, a Samrat's income is between one and ten crores, a Virat's income between ten and fifty crores. A Sivabhumia's income exceeds fifty crore varshas.<sup>1</sup> It seems that the titles given above and the incomes corresponding to each are more fanciful than real and display more the author's love for symmetry than his faithfulness to practical life. There is of course some basis of facts as to the titles of rulers. From the inscriptions we see that an emperor (Chakravartin) was usually distinguished by the titles, 'paramēśvati, paramabhaṭṭarika, mahirajadhiraja, that a king was usually styled simply Mahiraja, that feudatory princes were called Mahimangalesvati as the Śiṣaharis of Thana.

Among ancient Classical writers Strabo gives a detailed and interesting account of the several officers appointed to supervise the several branches of administration. He says 'Of the Magistrates, some have charge of the market, others of the city others of the soldiery. Some superintend rivers, measure land, inspect sluices and have charge of hunters. They collect taxes and supervise occupations connected with land. They look after public roads and erect a pillar to indicate byroads and distances at every tenth Stadia'.<sup>2</sup> Again we are told that those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The first inspect everything relating to industrial arts the second entertain strangers assign them lodgings and send them out of the country, the third enquire in what manner and at what time births and deaths occur not only for imposing taxes, but for preventing death, the fourth are occupied with retail and brier and weights and measures the fifth supervise manufactured articles and sell them by public notice the mixture of old and new being punished, the sixth collect the tenth part of the price of articles sold'. We shall compare this interesting account of the gradations of officers with the one contained in the Arthashastra and then try to find out what the inscriptions tell us about them.

(To be continued)

<sup>1</sup> See S B II Vol VIII ( अर्थशास्त्र ), p. 11

<sup>2</sup> See McCrindle's Ancient India (Strabo) p. 57

<sup>3</sup> Id. d. p. 51